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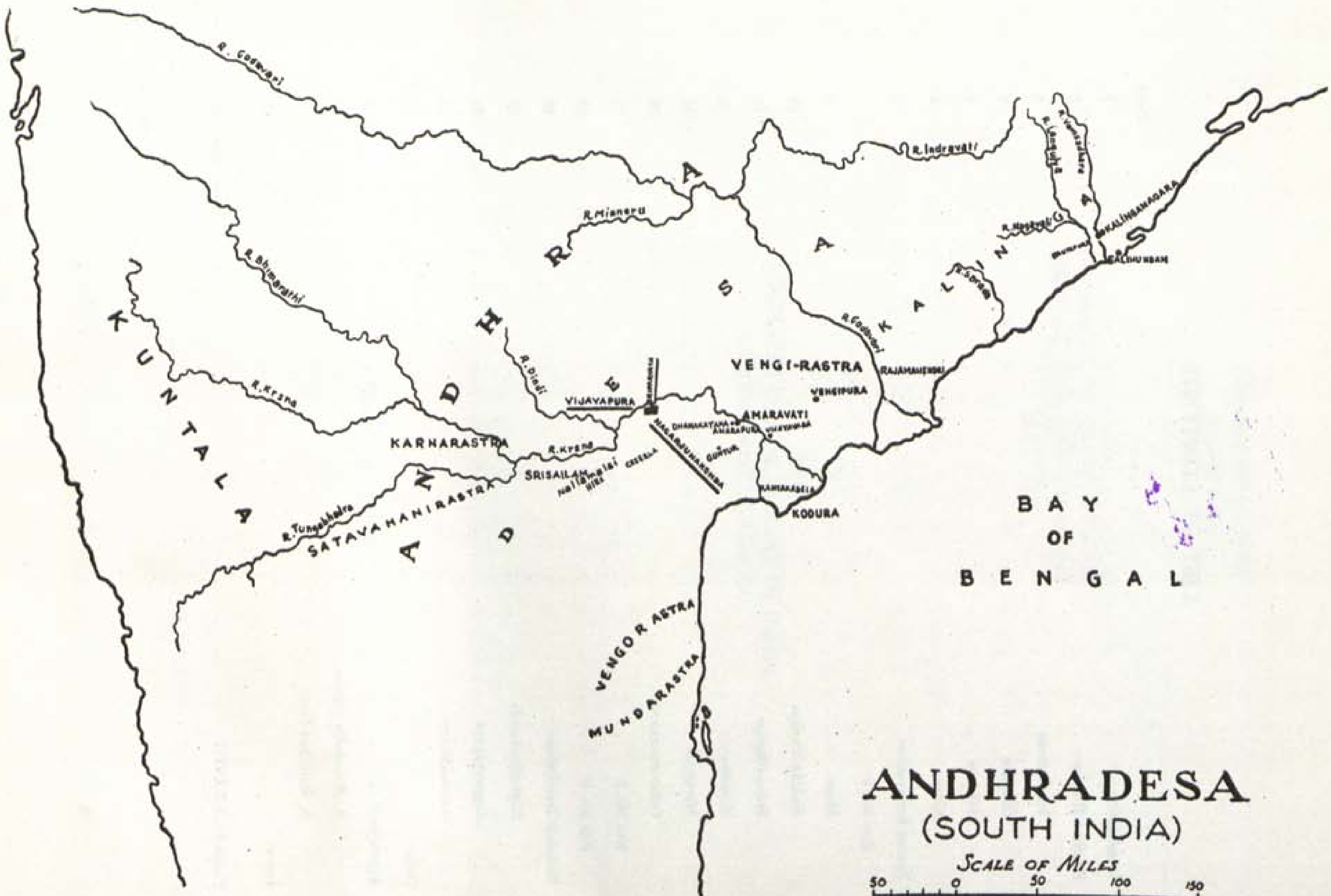




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Map 1.

# NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA, 1938

## INTRODUCTION

*Āndhra-deśa* is a wonderful land of rivers such as the Godāvarī with its tributaries Mañjīrā, Prāṇahitā, Indravatī and the Śabarī; the Kṛishṇā with its tributaries the Bhīmarathī, Tuṅgabhadrā, Diṇḍī, Mūsi as well as the Muni, Pinākinī, Pāleru, Manneru, Guṇḍlakamma, the Śāradā, Nāgāvali, Vaṁśadhārā and the Ṛishikulyā (Map 1). Along the Āndhra sea-coast which extends for about 400 miles, there existed sea-ports at the mouths of the large rivers. Navigation and commercial enterprise were very much encouraged and seafarers left the Āndhra shores for colonisation beyond the deep seas. The Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā were navigable in ancient times.

The earliest mention of the Āndhras is in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* as one of the tribes of South India. Āndhra-deśa was the original home of the Āndhras in the earliest times as it is even to-day. After the fall of the Mauryan Empire the Sātavāhanas extended their dominion into the north, west and south until Āndhra-deśa embraced a great portion of the Indian Peninsula. Its early history is borne out by Buddhist and Brahmanical literature, by copper plates, inscriptions, coins, ancient structures such as *stūpas*, *chaityas* and *vihāras*, and by manuscripts and the writings of foreign travellers. Megasthenes (300 B.C.) and Pliny (77 A.D.) referred to the Āndhras as a powerful tribe, who possessed numerous villages, 30 towns defended by high walls and towers, and an immense army of one lakh infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. In the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of the 1st century A.D., the ports of Barygaza and Vaijayantī are mentioned as places of export of onyx stones, porcelain, muslin, cotton, perfumes, gum and silk. Ptolemy locates Barygaza in Larikē, a name evidently derived from a Prākṛit form of Skt. *Lāṭa*. He mentions a port Byzantion in the country of the Pirates (§ 7). The name has been explained from Vejayantī, but this is more than doubtful. Ptolemy mentions a country under the name *Ariakē Sadēnōn*, i.e., *Ariakē of the Sadēnoi*, and we may safely assume that his Sadēnoi is a Greek rendering of a Prākṛit form of "Sātavāhana". In § 6 he mentions five ports and in §§ 82-83 eighteen inland towns belonging to that country. Recently at Koṇḍāpūr, in Hyderabad (Deccan), where coins of the Āndhra kings Gautamīputra and his son Pulumāvī were discovered, pieces of porcelain were dug out as were also Buddhist figurines made of *kaolin* (a pure white porcelaneous clay). Ptolemy speaks of the Āndhras, the trade on the East Coast, and the ports of Kontakossyla, Koddura and Allosygne. He also mentions *Apheterion* in *Maisolia* region (Kṛishṇā Delta). *Apheterion* is not a proper name as some writers have believed but a word meaning "a point of departure".[1] The *Purāṇas* refer to the Āndhrabhritya dynasty of kings also called Śātakarṇis and Sātavāhanas, who ruled from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. to the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Their territory extended from the east coast to the west coast; Mysore in the south and Avantī or modern Ujjain

[1] See J. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 68.

in the north were included in their kingdom. The Koṇḍāpur excavations by G. Yazdani[1] and the recent excavations in Chittaldrug district, Mysore[2], have yielded valuable results and thrown further light on this Āndhra period.

Ancient market towns were Dhannakaṭaka (250 B.C.), Kevurura, Vijayapura(i) and Narasala. Maritime traffic is attested to by the find of a large number of Roman coins on the Coromaṇḍel (*Colamaṇḍala*). Regarding the migration of Hindu colonists to the Far East in the 1st century A.D., the Āndhra country in general and the Veṅgī kingdom in particular had a good share in it. Ptolemy's *Apheterion* to the north of Allosygne was the starting point of ships for Golden Chryse, Farther India and the Archipelago. The coinage of the times reveals that lead and potin predominated over copper and the issues were large and varied such as would be the case with an empire from sea to sea. Sea-bound trade was largely responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in Āndhra-deśa for nearly six centuries (from 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.). Buddhists were largely recruited from the commercial classes whose wealth was utilised to raise Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and other *stūpas*. Buddhism spread like wild fire more quickly among non-Āryan tribes in the Āndhra country than in Āryan Society.

The Buddhist sites in the Northern Districts of the Madras State, particularly in the Āndhra country are vast as against a fraction in the Southern Districts. From Sālihuṇḍam in the Viśākhapatnam district in the North to Chinna Gañjam in the Guṇṭūr district in the south, and from Gooty in the Anantapur district in the west to Bhaṭṭiprolu in the east, the Āndhra country witnessed in the three centuries preceding and following the birth of Christ a phenomenal growth of Buddhistic culture and art. Rāmatīrtham (Skt. *Ārāma-tīrtham*), Saṅkaram (Skt. Saṅghārāma), Sālihuṇḍam, Koḍavalli, Arugolanu, Guṇṭupalle, Jaggayyapeṭa, Rāmireḍḍipalle, as well as Allūru, Bezwāḍa (Vijayawāḍa), Guḍivāda, Ghaṇṭaśālā (Kantakossyla), Garikapāḍu, Goli, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Amarāvatī, Peddamaḍḍūr, Chinna Gañjam, Peddagañjam, Kanuparti and Bhaṭṭiprolu are a few places among the many that have yielded to the magic touch of the archaeologist, relics of a glorious civilization that flourished in the Āndhra country in the early centuries. *Stūpas* or sepulchral monuments, *chaityas* or *chetiyagharas*[3] prayer chambers or halls, and *vihāras* or monasteries were found in large numbers, particularly in the Guṇṭūr and Kṛishṇā districts along the banks of the river Kṛishṇā which was known to the Greeks as *Maisolos*.

A study of the various Buddhist sites in South India proves the existence of five early roads which converged at Veṅgī in the centre of the Āndhra country. Almost all the Buddhist sites were located on these roads which lead to Kaliṅga, to Drāviḍa, to Karṇāṭa, to Mahārāshṭra, and to Kosala respectively (and Kosala includes Dakshiṇa Kosala).

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[1] *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Part VIII, 1952, pp. 6, 61 and 63.

[2] *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 180-310.

[3] The word *chaitya* is a synonym of *stūpa*. Modern authors like Burgess use it incorrectly for a temple enshrining a *stūpa*. The correct term indicating such a building or cave-temple is Pāli *chetiyaghara* found in numerous inscriptions including those of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*see* Prof. Vogel in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 1-37; especially *Index*, p. 28).

## PREVIOUS HISTORY

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, "the hill of Nāgārjuna", is the name of a large rocky hill on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā river in the Palnāḍ Taluk of the Guṇṭūr District of the Madras State, sixteen miles west of Macherla R.S. The scene of the Archaeological Department's activities in excavation from 1926 onwards is a valley about three miles in width completely shut in by the surrounding hills which are off-shoots of the Nallamalai Range and the Kṛishṇā river on the west forming the boundary between the Guṇṭūr District and Ḥyderabad. The valley is dotted with numerous hillocks and mounds covered with jungle. These mounds represent the sites of former Buddhist monuments, mostly *stūpas, chaityas* and

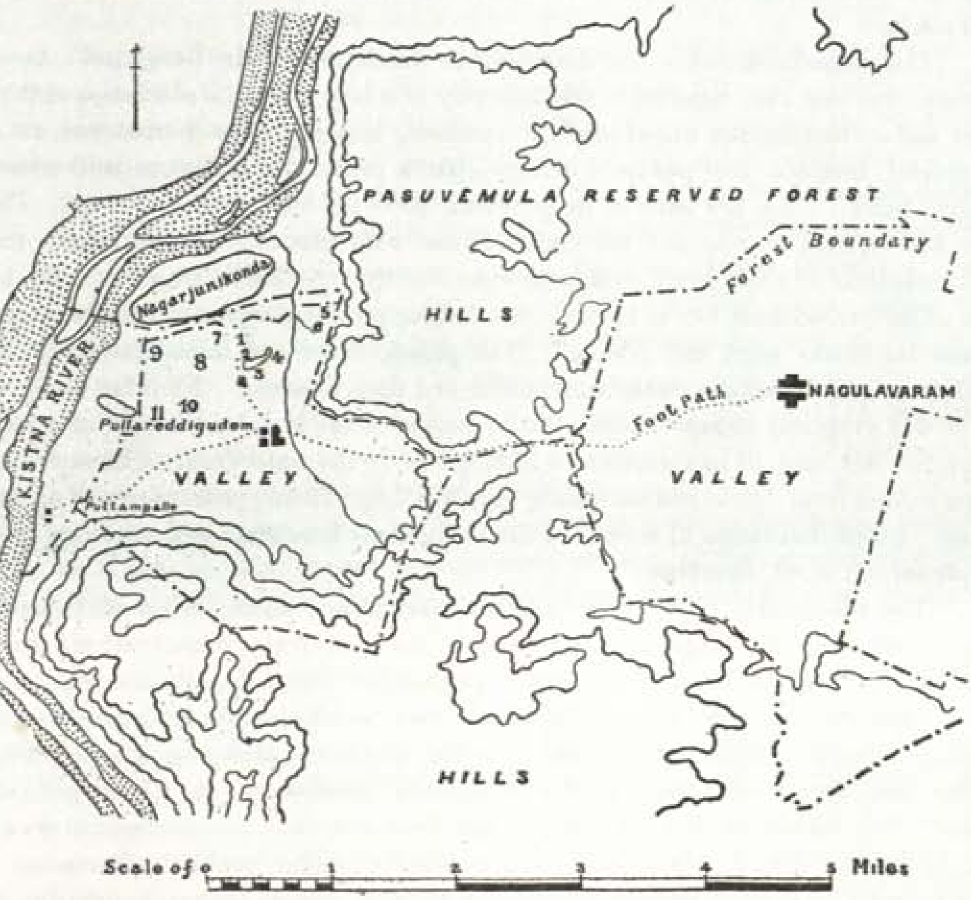



Fig. 1. *Site Plan : Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*

1. Great Stūpa No. 1
2. Chaitya and Monastery No. 1.
3. Chaitya and Monastery No. 2.
4. Stūpa No. 4, Chaityas Nos. 3 & 4 and Monastery No. 3.
5. Stūpa No. 2.
6. Stūpa No. 3.
7. Monastery No. 4 and Stūpa No. 5.
8. Stūpa No. 6.
9. Monastery No. 5 and Stūpas Nos. 7 & 8.
10. Palace Site.
11. Stūpa No. 9.
12. Wharf.

*vihāras* (fig. 1). A vast number of groups of standing limestone pillars are also met with in the valley. Each group marks the site of some monastery. Only one site was discovered right in the centre of the valley which represents the remains of a palace. The extent of the ruins is far greater than at Amarāvatī. Its strategical position protected on three sides by natural fortifications and the river on the fourth side together with two fortified hills defending the river front shows that the place was of considerable importance in early days. The Kṛishṇā river which is here about half a mile in width was probably a much larger river then than now affording easy navigation down to the sea thus making the place accessible and in easy communication with the other Buddhist settlements at Rentāla, Goli, Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeṭa, Chezarla, Ghaṇṭaśālā, Gummaḍiduṛṛu, Allūru, Vijayawāḍa (Bezwāda) and Bhaṭṭiprolu, all situated in the lower Kṛishṇā valley within easy reach of the river. As already remarked the Kṛishṇā was known to the Greeks as *Maisolos* and the Kṛishṇā delta as *Maisolia*

This remarkable valley was discovered in March 1926. Mr. Longhurst's excavations between 1926 and 1931 resulted in the discovery of a large *stūpa* (*Mahāchetiya* of the inscriptions) and several smaller *stūpas* (eight in number), four *vihāras* or monasteries, six *chaityas* or apsidal temples, four pavilions or *maṇḍapas*, a palace site and stone-built wharf on the Kṛishṇā bank. They are built of large bricks, 20″×10″×3″ on the average. The bricks were laid in mud mortar and the walls covered with plaster. The mouldings and other ornamentations of these brick structures were usually executed in stucco and the buildings were white-washed from top to bottom "not only to protect the plaster but also as a suitable ground for colour work and gilding". The pillars, floors and important sculptures were of white or grey limestone resembling marble and easy to work. No other stone was used and it was evidently brought to the site by means of the river and landed at a stone-built wharf, 250 feet long, 50 feet wide and 6 feet high along the water front. Three rows of stone pillars extend from end to end indicating that this long building perhaps served as a Customs House. In the decoration of several of the monuments here abundant use is made of richly sculptured slabs of limestone.

The discoveries made also included inscriptions, coins, relics of bones, pottery, statues and over 500 magnificent bas-reliefs in the style of the Amarāvatī reliefs, some of them bearing inscriptions of a dynasty of kings called Ikshvāku, all belonging to the same period (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.). These inscribed records are in Brāhmī characters, the language being a standard Prākṛit related to Pāli which was used over a large territory. A similar language is also used in the Khāravela inscriptions at Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri, Orissa. The dialect of the inscriptions has been described as a normalized semi-literary Prākṛit used by people whose home tongue was Dravidian, probably Kanarese. As the dialect shows a strong Kanarese substratum we may not be wrong in inferring that the Ikshvāku kings had come to the Kṛishṇā country from the west. The records afford us interesting information about the Southern Ikkhāku (Ikshvāku) dynasty settled in the Āndhra country in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., who claimed descent from Ikkhāku (Ikshvāku), the mythical progenitor of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhyā. The Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions which are executed exactly as in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are dated in the 20th regnal year of an Ikkhāku king, Māḍhariputa Siri Vīra Purisadata. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions acquaint us with the names of several more members, male and female, of the same royal house. They mention Māḍhariputa Siri Vīra Purisadata in whose reign the principal sanctuaries

of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were founded, his father Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Chāṁtamūla and his son and successor Vāseṭhiputa Siri Ehuvuḷa Chātamūla and supply the following continuous table :—

Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Chāmtamūla
|
Māḍhariputa Siri Vīra Purisadata
|
Vāseṭhiputa Siri Ehuvuḷa Chā(ṁ)tamūla.

A curious fact about them is that while the kings followed Brahmanism and performed Vedic sacrifices, (such as *Agnishṭoma, Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha*), their consorts were devotees of Buddhism and erected monasteries and temples in honour of the Buddha. The principal foundress was a princess called Chāṁtisiri. Another was Aḍavi Chāṁtisiri, daughter of king Chāṁtamūla, and sister of king Siri Vīra Purisadata. A third lady is called Chuḷa-Chāṁtisiriṇikā. A fourth lady was one Upāsikā Bodhisiri, who was apparently not related to the Ikshvākus. The list of her works includes a stone *maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the Mahāchaitya at Kaṇṭakasela which reminds us of the emporium Kaṇṭikossula (Koṇṭakossyla) which Ptolemy mentions as being situated on the east coast after the mouth of the *Maisolos* (Kṛishṇā). In the inscriptions, the place (city) is called Vijayapurī and the hill on which Bodhisiri built a monastery and an apsidal temple for the Ceylonese monks is mentioned as Chula-Dhammagiri on Śrī Parvata. The hill is an off-shoot of the surrounding Nallamalais whose ancient name was Śrī Parvata (cf. Śrīśailam). Śrī Parvaṭa, according to a Tibetan tradition, was the place where the famous Buddhist divine Nāgārjuna spent the latter part of his life in a monastery of that name in South India[1]. Yet another lady was Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā, the daughter-in-law of Śrī Chāṁtamūla, wife of Siri Vīra Purisadata and the mother of Mahārāja Siri Ehuvuḷa Chātamūla. Koḍabalisiri, the granddaughter of Siri Chāṁtamūla, daughter of Siri Vīra Purisadata and sister of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiputa Siri Ehuvuḷa Chāṁtamūla and the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa (the ancient name of North Kanara) was another celebrated princess mentioned. We have thus information about half a dozen celebrated ladies and three rulers of the Ikkhāku dynasty, who were not Buddhists but who appear to have been votaries of Mahāsena or Skanda as will be seen from the expression *Virūpākhapati-Mahāsena-Parigahitasa* which is applied to Siri Chāṁtamūla[2].

In the inscription of Bodhisiri mention is made of two *vihāras* called *Kulaha-vihāra* and *Sihala-vihāra*. The *Sihala-vihāra* must have been a monastery founded either by a Ceylonese or more probably for the accommodation of Ceylonese monks. This *Sihala-vihāra* is said to have contained a shrine with a *Bodhi* tree (*Sihala-vihāre Bodhirukha-pāsādo*) which is a necessary adjunct of the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon up to the present day. Not only the mention of the *Sihala-vihāra* but also the dedication of a *chetiya-ghara* to the fraternities of Tambapaṃni as the inscription proclaims shows that very cordial relations must have existed between the Buddhist community of the Kṛishṇā valley and their co-religionists in Ceylon. The existence of such relations can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade carried on between the ports of Ceylon and Kaṇṭakasela, the greatest emporium of the Kṛishṇā delta.

In connection with the Buddhism that was prevailing at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the second and third centuries A.D. our attention is drawn to a few sect names mentioned in the local

[1] Wassiliew, *Der Buddhismus*, Vol. I, p. 220.

[2] *Virūpāksha* would indicate the hosts of which Skanda is the leader.

inscriptions occurring on *āyaka* pillars, e.g., *Aparamahāvinaseliyas, Pūrvaśailiyas, Bahusuttiya* (Sanskrit *Bahuśrutīya*), *Ayira-haṁgha* (*Ārya-Saṁgha*) and *Mahisāsaka* (*Mahīśāsaka*).[1]

The *chaityas* or temples discovered here are apsidal, oblong on plan. The apse is at one end and the doorway on the other, the walls are thick and high and the roof was built of brick in the form of a barrel-vault. There were no windows; the interior shows plaster and white-wash on the walls. The floors and steps were of stone, the front step cut in the form of a semi-circle usually known as a "moon-stone". The exterior walls of the *chaityas* are ornamented with a few rows of simple mouldings along the base and cornice while the summit of the wagon-headed roof was adorned with a row of tall pottery finials. In some of the *chaityas* there is a small stone *dāgaba* as the object of worship. In some others statues of the Buddha were found.

Each monastic establishment was complete in itself, and contained as the unit a *vihāra* for the monks to dwell, an apsidal *chaitya* or two for prayers and a circular *stūpa* for worship and circumambulation. On plan the *vihāra* was a rectangular courtyard enclosed by a brick-wall. In the centre was a stone-paved hall with a roof supported by stone pillars. All round the enclosure abutting the outer walls was a row of cells for the monks often with a verandah in front. Some of the cells were used as store rooms, a few as shrines and there was usually one large room which served as a refectory. Six such monasteries were exposed

Ruined pillared halls of all sizes abound at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which were erected by pious donors as rest houses for pilgrims and visitors.

In the centre of the valley where the ancient city of Vijayapurī stood, the ruins of a large *maṇḍapa* were discovered and five very handsome stone pillars were unearthed. The pillars supported the roof of a hall belonging to a palace. No pillars of this kind were found elsewhere. Some were carved with bas-relief scenes or figures, like Scythian warrior, a figure resembling Dionysus, and a dwarfish child dragging a toy-cart (*mṛichchhakaṭi*).

The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa *stūpas* are constructed in the form of a wheel on plan with hub, spokes and tyre complete, all executed in brick work, the open spaces between the radiating walls forming the spokes being filled in with earth and debris before the outer brick casing of the *stūpa* was built up and the dome closed. They were in the form of a wheel on plan. But in section their construction resembled that of an umbrella. These *stūpas*, of which at least nine were discovered, are of all sizes, from small mounds 20 feet in diameter to large buildings like the Great *Stūpa* (*Mahāchetiya*) which was 106 feet in diameter. In the smaller *stūpas* the central pillar forming the hub of the wheel was sometimes square on plan, but in the larger *stūpas* as in the case of the Great *Stūpa* it was circular like the staff of an umbrella which it seems to have been purposely designed to resemble. The *stūpas* were built of large bricks, 20″×10″×3″, laid in mud mortar and covered with plaster from topto bottom The dome rested on a drum 3 to 5 feet high according to the sizes of the *stūpas*. At the four cardinal points a rectangular platform projected outwards and served as an altar for the floral offerings of the worshippers. This is a special feature of the Āndhra *stūpas* unknown to Northern India. In the larger and important *stūpas* such as the Great *Stūpa* here each platform supported a group of five stone pillars called *āyaka-kaṁbhas*, and thus each *stūpa* had twenty such pillars. It is on these pillars that the Ikshvāku inscriptions are

[1] See below pp. 34 ff.

carved. The Great *Stūpa* appears to have had a railing with open gateways which were of carved wood of which nothing remains and stood on brick foundations which still remain.

The ornamentation of the decorated *stūpas* was a mixture of stone carving and stucco work. When stone was used it was applied to the face of the brick work and fixed in mortar and extended from the plinth to frieze encircling the middle portion of the dome, a point which marks the springing of the dome. Above this frieze all ornamentation was executed in stucco as flat slabs of stone could not be fixed to the curved surface of the dome. Open joints and other faults in the stone facings were rectified in plaster. When the decorative work was finished the structure was white-washed completely to hide any fault in the work. The white limestone used was particularly suitable for this kind of patch-work decoration, as the stone is of the right colour, soft and easy to work, and being somewhat absorbent takes plaster or white-wash readily. This method of decorating a *stūpa* partly with stone slabs and partly with plaster ornamentation was also employed by the Gāndhāra Buddhists. Gāndhāra influence is readily discernible in many of the Āndhra sculptures, and the inscriptions inform us that there was intercourse between the Āndhra Buddhists and those of Gāndhāra. Rom aninfluence is almost manifest in a few of the sculptural antiquities recovered from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Mr. Longhurst found the relic (probably of the Buddha himself) not in the centre of the Great *Stūpa* (*Mahāchetiya*) but next to the outer retaining wall on the north side. It consisted of a tiny bit of bone in a gold box with lid, which again was contained in a cylindrical silver casket. The latter had been placed in an ordinary earthenware pot which was found broken and the silver relic casket crushed. The relic (*dhātu*) is now worshipped in the Mūlagandhakuṭivihāra at Sārnāth. The *Mahāchetiya* though closely agreeing with the Great *Stūpa* of Amarāvatī in plan lacks the rich sculptural decoration of the latter. A few Buddha statues found here represent Buddha clad in a robe with schematic folds in the manner from Amarāvatī.

Nearly 500 pieces of sculpture recovered by Mr. Longhurst include several splendid carved beams and a number of upright slabs with a vertical arrangement of bas-reliefs, the scenes being taken from the Buddha's life, his pre-births called *Jātakas* and other events of folk-lore. In some reliefs a synoptic mode of illustration is adopted, *i.e.*, the artist combines the successive stages of the story in one panel. In others he adopts the narrative and to a little extent symbolic modes. Those scenes relating to the Buddha's life and his pre-births (*Jātakas*) are drawn from the early Buddhist texts such as :—the *Jātaka*, *Nidānakathā*, *Lalita-Vistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Buddha-Charita* and the *Sundara-Nanda* of Aśvaghosha, the *Divyāvadāna*, Buddha-Ghosha's commentary on the *Dhammapada*, the *Sakka-pañhasuttanta* and the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, as well as the *Sumangalavilāsinī*, a commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*, not to speak of a few Chinese and Ceylonese versions of the life of the Buddha. Decorative and ornamental designs also became the subject matter of the carvings. Religion was here, as elsewhere, an inspiring agent for the promotion of the arts; the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures also go to prove that by "religion" was not necessarily meant ritual or doctrine, but the latent spiritual quality that finds "tongues in trees, books in running brooks, sermons in stone and good in everything".

The excavations between 1926 and 1931 done by Mr. A. H. Longhurst are published in *Memoir* No. 54 of the Department " The Buddhist antiquities of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa ". Work from 1938 to 1940 by the writer and his associates is now described.

## EXCAVATIONS (1938)

### *Site No. 6*

Excavations were commenced in March, 1938, in Site No. 6 (fig. 2) in the north-eastern corner of the valley (pl.1) close to the foot of the Nallamalai range which encloses Vijayapura(i).

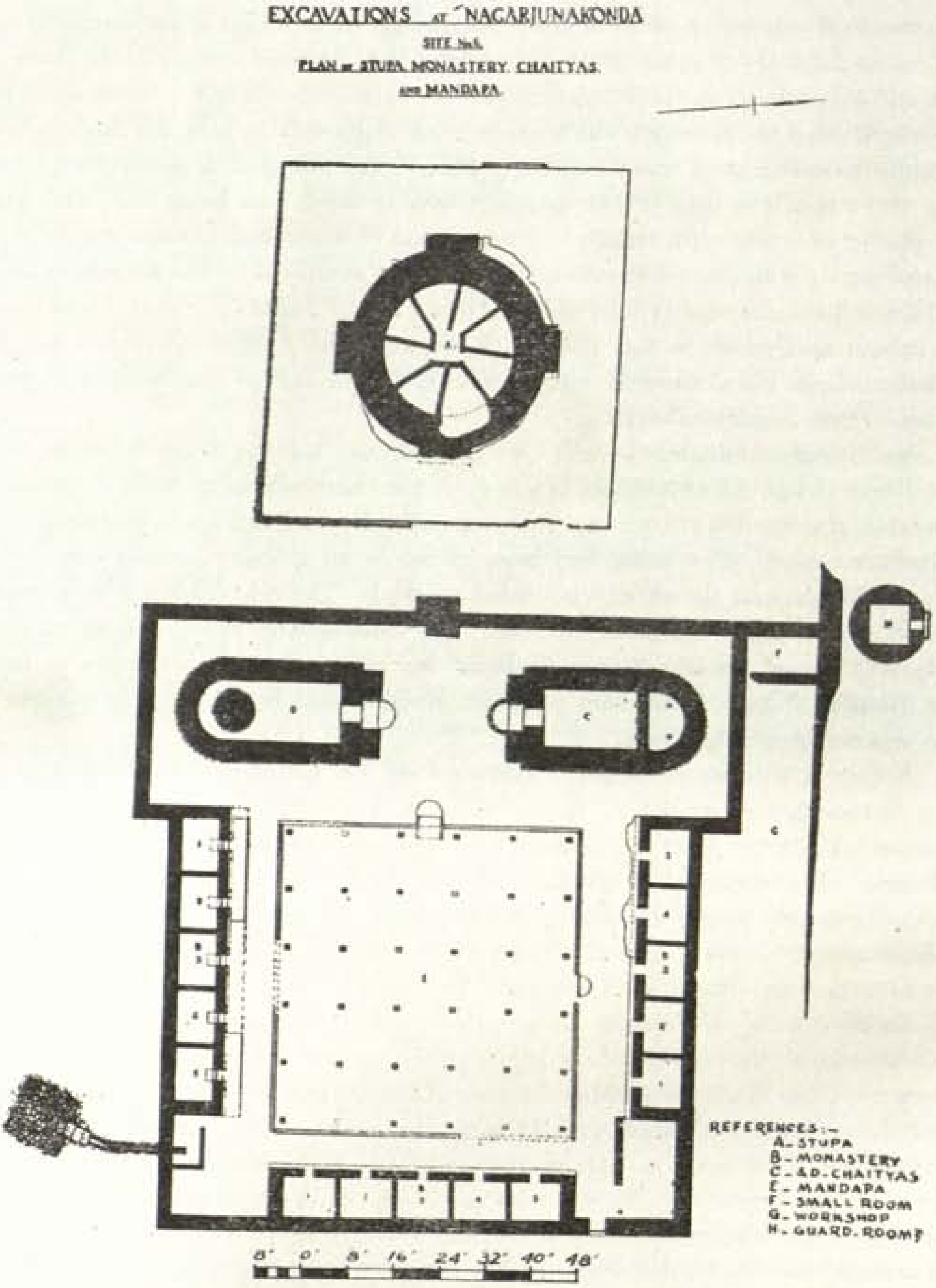



Fig. 2

the city of the Ikshvāku kings, who ruled the Kṛishṇā valley on the east in the 3rd century A.D. The Buddhist remains exposed so far have to be attributed to the Ikshvākus and their times. In the earlier excavations there was partially exposed here, a *stūpa*—called

*Stūpa* 3, in Mr. Longhurst's *Memoir*[1]. Only its basement remains and traces of wanton destruction were in evidence.

As this *stūpa* (marked A in fig. 2) was partially covered with mud and débris and as the surrounding parts needed to be exposed, excavations were started here first and gradually extended to the area to the east of the *stūpa*—200×140′ (pl. II). Part of the *stūpa* with eight spokes or pocket walls of the wheel radiating from a 4′9″ central square chamber encased in a circular brick wall, was already on view (pl. III-B). During the year 1938 the outer edges of the *stūpa* and the surrounding ground were exposed. The *stūpa*, 40′9″ in diameter including its *āyaka* projections, stands in the centre of an enclosure 66′6″ square and consists of a strong outer shell faced with Cuddapah stones (limestone schist of stratified formation locally popular as Cuddapah stones) and an *āyaka* projection or platform 9′6″×3′ at each of the cardinal points. The inner hollow consists of a square chamber at the centre, from the angles and sides of which radiate eight partition walls supporting the loose filling. No traces of steps leading to the *pradakshiṇa* path were found, but access was evidently from the east. Here and there the *āyaka* projections or platforms showed fragments of casing slabs of limestone, some of them with intricate carving. One such slab found on the western facing of the *āyaka* platform on the north, bears the scene in which the Buddha, seated with legs hanging down (*pralambapāda*) and clad as in Gāndhāra sculptures, with both his shoulders covered by *saṅghāṭi*, is accepting food supplied to him by Sujātā, the daughter of the village headman of Uruvilva (pl. IV-A). Only the lower part of the figures remain. Sujātā and her attendant to the right of the Buddha, and the cart that conveyed them with one of the bulls on Buddha's left can be made out.

Another interesting carving from the facing of the *āyaka* platform on the west shows the Buddha seated on a throne under the *Bodhi* tree amidst worshippers, among whom Vajrapāṇi holding the *vajra* in his right hand is visible (pl. V-3). The Buddha has his right hand extended in *bhūmisparśa*, but with the palm showing out as in the *varadamudrā* or boon-conferring-gesture. This feature, coupled with the presence of Vajrapāṇi, who is very frequent in Gāndhāra sculpture as the guardian sent by the *devas* for the protection of the Buddha and who is rarely represented in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, marks the sculpture out as of exceptional iconographic importance.

Another fragment from one of the sides of the *āyaka* platform on the west shows the *Bodhi* tree with the Buddha seated underneath it (only the head of the Buddha with its halo is visible), and two bullocks with a cartman holding one of them on the right of the Buddha (pl. IV-B). The scene obviously relates to the visit of the merchants Bhallika and Trapusha whose attention was drawn to the presence of the Buddha under the *Bodhi* tree by their cart becoming stuck nearby and the refusal of the bullocks to move from the spot.

Several fragmentary limestone carvings were found around the *stūpa* on the *pradakshiṇa* path, most of them illustrating scenes from the Buddha's life and his past births (*Jātakas*), while a few depict scenes of folk lore appeal. Mention may be made here of a few of these interesting scenes.

Two bits represent the miracle of Śrāvastī, as flames clearly emerge from the back of the throne (pl. VI-A). The pillar of effulgence is in evidence (pl. VI-A).

[1] *The Buddhist antiquities of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, p. 19, pl. 15-a.

The Buddha seated on a throne and assuring a lady—probably Sujātā—who, by touching his right hand, probably is beseeching him to accept food, forms the subject of a fragment evidently from a *chaitya* slab such as adorned one of the *āyaka* platforms (pl. VII-B, 1).

A king on a throne listening with sympathy and interest to a man (defaced), probably one of his subjects who kneels below in front with hands raised in worship (*añjali*), forms the subject of another fragment (pl. VII-B, 2).

A *Nāgarāja* (pl. VIII-A) standing in stately magnificence with a lotus in his right hand and his left hand akimbo, is depicted with befitting demeanour and grandeur, though meant to do honour to the Buddha. Although only two remain, the circle of hoods is apparent. A close-fitting necklace, a long *yajñopavīta* of single chord reaching below the waist, a thick garland of five bead-courses, a lotus flower in half-bloom tucked in the hair over the forehead, ear-rings (*kuṇḍalas*) with tassels, armlets (*aṅgadas*), double wristlets, and *uttarīya* secured round the under-garment at the waist, are some of the decorative features of this denizen of the *Nāgaloka*. The modelling of his *torso* is exquisite.

King Śakra(?) with high crown (*kirīṭamakuṭa*), his right hand raised and his left resting on the waist and legs suggesting that he is dancing or more probably hovering in the sky like *Vidyādharas* forms an interesting study in a fragment (pl. IX-B, 1). He is easily comparable with the Śakra figures occurring at Amarāvatī and Goli[1].

A party of three men moving towards a seated woman whose hand with bangles is all that remains of her, is the subject of yet another fragment. One of them holds a string on which are hooked two fishes, while another similarly carries a pair of fishes in each hand (pl. IX-B, 6).

Another piece of carving shows a man walking in front as if in distress, followed by a chieftain and two of his men, one of them holding a club (pl. IX-B, 2). The chieftain touches with his left hand a sheathed sword, evidently suspended from his waist.

The Buddha flying in the sky is represented in another piece (pl. IX-A, 4). Most probably the scene relates to Nanda's conversion (which is depicted at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[2]) when the Buddha flew with Nanda over the world showing him its miseries, thereby convincing him of the superiority of a *bhikshu's* life.

A drum held by a dwarfish figure but played by another dwarf as in the Mañchāpurī cave, forms an interesting study on a fragment of a *chaitya* slab from the *āyaka* platform[3]. The two dwarfish figures represent *Gandharvas*, the celestial musicians (pl. IX-A, 1).

Another fragment, evidently from one of the sides of the *āyaka* platform, shows a ma . with an *uttarīya* thrown crosswise over his body, pouring water from a pot evidently placed on an altar. His heavy over-hanging curls are well combed and parted in the centre and reach to his ears, enhancing the beauty of his face. Heavy wristlets adorn his hands. The piece will go as a typical example of the classical art of the age (pl. IX-A, 5). The worship of the *Bodhi* tree and the altar underneath it is the subject of the sculpture.

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[1] T. N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stūpa near Goli village*, pl. XI, No. 10.

[2] See Longhurst's *Memoir*, No. 54, pl. XXXV-A.

[3] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, T. N. Ramachandran, *The Mañcapurī Cave*, pp. 104-108.

A tiny fragment shows a lady at her toilet in front of a mirror (pl. IX-A, 3) which is supported on a handle held in her left hand. Such scenes are common in Amarāvatī and in Early Indian Art.

A female bust with a single necklace of beads as in Mathurā sculpture of 100 A.D. is all that remains of a lady carved in bold relief (pl. IX-B, 4).

A kneeling man with hands in *añjali* and with expression evoking sympathy together with the hand of another extended towards him in an assuring manner, form the subject of a fragment (pl. VII-A, 1).

Three fragments form an interesting elephant group. On one is depicted an elephant marching vigorously. The eye and the ears constitute a realistic study (pl. VII-A, 3).

An elephant (only the lower portion remains) is shown on another fragment with its back legs bent and front legs erect, while its trunk appears to be raised. The figure of a man shown clinging to its neck and of another sitting on the ground near its front legs, as in Goli[1], suggest that probably the intended scene was the subjugation of Nalagiri (pl. VII-A, 5). The man by the elephant's legs should be explained (as at Goli) as sitting, having reconciled himself to his fate, namely a prospective stampede.

The scene represented on the third fragment appears to relate to the same incident. The elephant has caught a man by twisting its trunk around his thigh and is goring him with its tusks. One of its front legs, which alone remains, is in violent motion (pl. VII-A, 2).

An interesting carving (pl. V, 3) from the facing of the *āyaka* platform on the west shows the Buddha seated on a throne under the *Bodhi* tree with worshippers below, a worshipper with curly hair standing at the extreme left, a figure waving a *chāmara* beside the throne, and between them Vajrapāṇi in kingly attire holding *vajra* in his right hand. The worshippers have top knots over the crown of their heads. The Buddha has his right hand extended in the *varada-mudrā*. This feature of the scene coupled with the presence of Vajrapāṇi, so popular in Gāndhāra sculpture as already mentioned,[2] indicates its exceptional iconographic importance.

The *Trayastriṁśa* heaven forms the subject matter of a fragment also from the facing of the *āyaka* platform on the northern side where it was found (pl. X-B). Though fragmentary, the carving depicts a portion of the throne under a pavilion for the Bodhisattva. While on the left are shown five of the *devas*, another *deva* probably Indra (?) is depicted as standing beside the throne waving the *chāmara*. Śakra or Indra can be distinguished by a high crown (*kirīṭa*) on his head. The setting for the scene is a medallion

Another fragment from one of the sides of the *āyaka* platform on the west shows the *Bodhi* tree with the Buddha underneath it (only the head of the Buddha with its halo is visible), and to the right of the Buddha two bullocks with a cartman holding one of them (pl. IV-B). One bullock is standing, while the other is reclining. The cartman looks back at the Buddha with great respect. The scene evidently is another depiction of the visit of the merchants Bhallika and Trapusha whose attention to the presence of the Buddha under the *Bodhi* tree was drawn by the situation of the stuck and the stubborn bullocks.

[1] T. N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a stūpa near Goli village*, pl. III, fig. H.

[2] *A. S. I. Memoir*, No. 54, pl. XLVIII-B.

The western side of the *stūpa* has also yielded another interesting fragment (pl. V, 2), a segment piece which was found in the débris, but which originally adorned the drum of the *stūpa*. The scene depicted shows a mountainous region in which are seated two dwarfish figures with stout bodies and tiny legs, each covering his body with a thick shawl leaving exposed the chest and the abdomen. The rocky area is laid to the left of a tree and in front of it is the (broken) head of a monk. The purport of the scene is not clear, but the dwarfish figures by their presence, peculiar dress and appearance would seem to suggest that they are either *gaṇas*[1] or more probably the *Pratyeka-Buddhas* who, by their flying powers could easily go to the summits of hills, and who frequent the Nandamūla cave on the Himālayas.

A group of heads found mixed up in the débris offers a very interesting study ; while four of them are of males, three distinctly of royal personages as shown by their diverse head-dresses, the fifth is that of a lady whose combed and parted hair, rounded cheeks and well-formed neck suggest that this is Indian art at its best (pl. XI-A).

An ascetic with hair secured in a side knot seated by the side of what appears to be a corn bag or jar is the subject of another fragment. The jar has a narrow mouth into which something in the shape of a handle or ladle is inserted (pl. V. 1). The handle reminds us of spoons used for picking cereals or pickles from jars.

Two fragments, both from the vicinity of the *stūpa*, relate to the worship of the *stūpa* (plate VI-B). One, from the side of the *āyaka* platform on the west, shows in bold relief the *chhatra* with its shaft standing on the *harmikā* and a flying *Vidyādhara* on the right come to do honour to the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, symbolised here by the *stūpa*. The *gala*, *aṇḍa* and *vedikā* portions are broken and missing. In the other fragment the *aṇḍa* and the *vedikā* alone show.

Yet another fragment shows the projecting part of a *chaitya* slab in which the hand of the Buddha affords protection, an attendant waves *chāmara* by his side, a lion-bracket and a royal worshipper with a flower arranged on his head, are all shown in vertical order from right to left.

A fragment from the *aṇḍa*, also from the surrounding debris of the *stūpa* shows a row of *pūrṇaghaṭas* or vases above a row of *stūpas*.

A number of fragments showing the undulating garland borne by *devas* and noble personages above two vertical rows of *pūrṇaghaṭas* and *Triratnas*—a *motif* peculiar to copings of South Indian Buddhist rails—were also found on the lower portion of the *aṇḍa* (pl. XI-B).

Excavation was continued on the eastern side of the *stūpa* revealing a passage 15′ 8″ wide from the moulding of the *pradakshiṇa* to a brick wall extending to a length of 109′ 6″ which separated the *stūpa* from a group of structures to the east of the wall, constituting a monastery. A landing faced by Cuddapah slabs in the centre of this wall, 8′ long, appears to have served as an entrance between the *stūpa* and the monastery area.

The partition wall, or more correctly, the outer wall of the chapel and monastic area, running from north to south, 109′ 6″, bears plaster on both sides and turns at both ends

[1] *Gaṇa* is used in the general sense of "dwarf" as is understood by Indians, though the term is not popular in Buddhist cosmology.

towards the east. It extends on the right to a length of 38′ 2″, and on the left to a length of 37′2″ and its width is 2′8″ on the right and 2′6″ on the left. It encloses two apsidal *chaityas* (fig. 2). The eastern terminals of this wall were found to join the wall of a monastery placed at right angles to them. The southern enclosure wall revealed a drain 6″ wide, formed by Cuddapah slabs. It was placed 3′ away from the south-west corner and must have taken out the water accumulating in the *chaitya* enclosure. In this *chaitya* enclosure were exposed two apsidal *chaityas* facing each other, one towards the south and called *Buddha-chaitya* from the fact that a Buddha statue was enshrined in it (pl. XII-B), and the other facing north and called *Stūpa-chaitya* because a votive *stūpa* was enshrined there (pl. XII-A).

BUDDHA-CHAITYA (pl. XII-B) : In an area, 31′ 10″ wide, was found an apsidal *chaitya*, 38′ 8″ long, oblong in plan, facing south (fig. 2). Although no trace of the superstructure remains (for the exposed wall is nowhere above 3′ high), it is possible as in the case of *chaityas*, that this also was originally covered by a vaulted chamber as in the Kapotesvara temple at Chezerla, with a row of earthen finials of which traces remain (pl. XIII-A) The exterior wall of the *chaitya* has a facing of Cuddapah slabs along the base, vertically laid, as a retainer for the brick wall. Over this, the wall was covered with plaster ½″ thick and finely finished. The inner side of the wall was equally applied with plaster down to the floor. The floors and steps were of stone (Cuddapah), the front step 2′11″ in diameter, being cut in the form of a semi-circle usually called a "moon-stone". Though generally the moon-stones discovered hitherto at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are plain, in the present case was an outer semi-circular border of white limestone in three parts fitted to the edge of the "moon-stone". Its width is 8″ and on its upper side is a frieze in which a procession of animals is carved in bas-relief (pl. XII-B). The animals march from left to right, each placed with n a panel framed by intervening foliage. While the lion occurs five times and the elephant twice, animals such as deer, horse, boar, bull and buffalo occur only once each. The architectural member of the "moon-stone" is here developed into a thing of surprising beauty as in Ceylon which may easily be expected as Buddhists from Ceylon had settled at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[1]

The moon-stone leads on to another step (5′×2′8″) and this to a narrower passage (3′10″×3′). This leads into a rectangular prayer hall (16′8″×10′6″) at the northern end of which is a brick *maṇḍapa* whose height is preserved up to 2′9″. This *maṇḍapa* is also apsidal in shape, 6′2″ long, with its front showing a retaining brick wall 2′ wide, and with both sides plastered. The fact that its inner side was covered by brick and plastered suggests that the brick elevation of the *maṇḍapa* was an after-thought.

Two limestone pillars 9″ square are fitted into this wall, and two more, also 9″ square, found placed 5′ behind so as to form a square, suggest clearly a *maṇḍapa* provided on this platform for the showing of a statue of the Buddha. This statue was found in four pieces namely the *padmāsana*, the feet of the Buddha (pl. XIV-A), the body of the Buddha (pl. X-A) and his left hand. The head could not be recovered. The total height of the Buddha is 6′10″, and with the head it must have been 8′ high, affording a spectacular show. The *padmāsana*, which is only semi-circular with a diameter of 2′11″, is a loose part originally meant to be fitted to the feet of the Buddha—a contrivance resorted to in very rare cases by stone-workers. The *torso* of the Buddha shows the *saṅghāṭi* in thick flowing lines leaving the right arm and shoulder bare (pl. X-A). The left hand (broken) was held up to the level

[1] See above, p. 5.

of the shoulder and held the fringe of the cloth. Behind the neck a socket has been scooped for fitting the image to a back support, the nature of which is indeterminable in the absence of the back piece or the stone for support. Between the legs, 1′2″ long and 5¾″ broad, is a socket drilled on the upper part of the *padmāsana* which was hidden from view by the perfection of its close-fitting stone stopper (pl. XIV-A). On removing the stone piece or stopper, the hole was found to be ½″ in diameter and 1¾″ deep, and in it was found a gold tube ¾″ high and ⅛″ in diameter (pl. XIV-B). This tube contained 95 pearls, one of them measuring ⅛″ in diameter and the rest smaller than mustard seeds and bone(?) ash that had slipped into the cavity as the bottom of the tube had been opened. The mouth of the tube was closed by hand pressure. The ash has not been examined but it may be of bone. However, the find is of the utmost importance as it proves that the ceremony of consecration (*pratishṭhāpana*) which must have been resorted to during the installation of the Buddha image was very much the same as it is in modern Hindu ritual (cf. *kavacha*, *svastika*, *yantra* and other devices).

Among other interesting things found in the *Buddha-chaitya*, mention may be made of two odd bricks that went at the corners. One (10″×8½″) has two of its sides worked into an elegant *āmalaka*-offset and the other is L-shaped (7″×6″) (pl. XV-B). Other objects included an odd pillar fragment with cubical base and octagonal shaft (3′7″×9½″) the top of which shows a knob suggesting that something went on it; a limestone head of the Buddha, 4″ high and 3½″ wide from ear to ear, with the *ūrṇā* on the forehead embossed and the hair curling towards the left (pl. XV-B); and two handfuls of charcoal pieces whose presence cannot be explained.

At the north-eastern corner of the *chaitya* enclosure was found, at 3′3″ below the ground level, a beautiful limestone coping slab with intricate carving on both sides (pl. XVI). It measures 1′11″×1′2½″ and is 3″ thick at the bottom but 2″ at the top where it is fluted. The underside bears a lenticular tenon 8½″ long, meant to go into the socket of an upright (*ūrdhva-paṭṭa*). The scenes carved on it are purely decorative. There are three panels for each side set in a gorgeous floral border, the latter being the same on both sides. The vertical panels on the obverse (pl. XVI-A) contain royal figures and ministers worshipping with flowers, while those on the reverse of the slab (pl. XVI-B) show two elephants marching abreast, as well as dwarfs (*gaṇas*) offering worship.

Another interesting find made in the *chaitya* enclosure is a limestone water-spout (3′1″×5¾″×4″) (pl. XV-A) which must have come from the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* when it fell. Between the *chaitya's* moon-stone and the landing of the *stūpa* were found, freely mixed with mud and débris, a large number of stucco decorations in pieces. A few select pieces are figured in pls. XVII and XVIII. Particular mention may be made of decorative pieces of stucco material in which geometrical patterns are depicted (pl. XVII-A). Among other designs shown, the most popular are undulating lines, curves, a plain, circular or floral *svastika*; squares, *Triratna*; flowers, in which the full-blown lotus with its seed-vessel exposed figures prominently (pl. XVII-B), leaves of various plants; and animal heads such as those of the lion, tiger, monkey and snake hoods (pl. XVIII-A); while small cylindrical pieces whose purpose is not clear, are also known (pl. XVIII-B).

STŪPA-CHAITYA (pl. XII-A): At a distance of 16′9″ from the moon-stone of the *Buddha-chaitya*, on the same line and with the same plan except that its entrance faced north,

was exposed another apsidal *chaitya*, with the following measurements: wall 3′9″ wide, prayer hall 26′6″×10′8″; passage 3′9″×3′0″, step 5′0″×3′3″ and moon-stone pavement outside 3′0″ long with a limestone border (fragmentary 2′3″×8″) existing on the western side, showing lion, buffalo and horned lion. At the southern end of the inner hall, paved with Cuddapah slabs, is built a votive *stūpa* which measures 7′10″ in diameter at the base, but narrows above. A circular limestone *padmāsana* faces it at the base, while above are horizontal courses of Cuddapah slabs. The *aṇḍa* of the *stūpa* is missing. In the earlier excavations this votive *stūpa* appears to have been opened, but subsequently closed. As the space between the wall and the *stūpa* is only 1′5″ wide, circumambulation was around the whole *chaitya*. The outer side of the *chaitya*-wall shows Cuddapah vertical casing above which was a heavy plaster finish one inch thick over the bricks some of which were 20″×10″×3″, the largest measurement known for bricks, comparing very well with the Mauryan. Behind the apse were found a pottery finial, 11½″ high, that must have gone on the roof of the *chaitya* (pl. XIII-A) and a big pillar which must have belonged to the *maṇḍapa* of the monastery. Both the *Stūpa-chaitya* and the *Buddha-chaitya* had in all probability gabled roofs.

MONASTERY (fig. 2-B): In a large tract to the east of the *chaitya* (95′8″×72′2″) were exposed the three wings of a monastery with the general arrangement of five cells for each wing, each cell being on the average 9′3″×7′. In the centre of these wings was found a well-laid out *maṇḍapa* 55′ square with limestone pillars forming five bays and with an outer facing edged by vertical Cuddapah slabs over limestone mouldings, in turn placed on horizontal Cuddapah slab courses, the whole supported by brick courses.

The southern wing of the cells was first exposed. The cells (pl. XIX-A) have each an entrance 1′10″ wide facing the north, whose interior steps held traces of plastering ½″ thick. Cell 1 (the numbering of cells in each wing is from right to left) had a rusty iron axe-head (6½″×2½″×½″) on its floor. Cells 3, 4 and 5 have at the entrance brick mouldings (1′6″×0′9″) finished in plaster with a smoothly polished surface. Curiously enough, there is a paved verandah on this wing only (fig. 2), 52′ long and 3′6″ wide, a section of which 19′9″ long was opened to expose the mouldings of cells 3, 4 and 5. The passage between the verandah and the *maṇḍapa* is 5½′ wide.

To the east of cell 5 is a room, probably a bath room (8′8″×5′) with an opening 2′ wide leading to it (pl. XX-A). In this room was found a stone trough (1′8″×8½″) (pl. XX-B) in the shape of a rectangular socket with Cuddapah slabs placed vertically on the four sides. The slab is grooved to resemble a ladle with a central channel ⅛″ deep and with its span 7″ in diameter. The span is further grooved in its centre—the pit thus formed being 3″ in diameter and here is drilled a hole ½″ wide through which water flowed into a covered underground drain, 4½″ wide near the trough but gradually widening as it proceeded towards the south (pl. XX-A and fig. 2), its greatest width being 9½″. The drain is edged and covered by Cuddapah slabs and bears a groove on the underside to a distance of 14′ and, with a gentle slope down, proceeds to a length of 22′ towards the south, where in a soak-pit (10′×8′×6′) formed by alternate layers of rubble, pebbles, sand and lime, it emptied the water.

To the east of the drain is an open area (17′6″×7′10″) in which no traces of cells were found. This might have served as a convenient place for the monks and/or nuns to attend to their necessaries, such as washing and bathing. But no drains, apart from the drain in the bath room, were noticed. In this area were found pieces of pottery (pl. XXI), bowls, lids and

other earthen articles which were generally red (pl. XXI-B). The designs on the potsherds vary from ordinary lines to intricate creepers, embossed lotuses and twisted ropes, while zigzag lines, geometrical patterns, petals, thumb-marks, and herring-bone are all worthy of mention. Especially noteworthy are three potsherds, one with the design of two crude fishes (?) carved on it (pl. XXII-C) while the other two together constitute one larger potsherd showing the letter 'ko' in Brāhmi script dating about 200 A.D. together with three vertical lines joined by a horizontal one. The latter design may represent a *letter* or a *symbol*, the nature of which is indeterminable as the potsherd is broken at this place.

A similar arrangement of five cells is found on the eastern wing of the monastery, the enclosing wall of which is 95′8″, of which 55′ constitute the length of the wall of the cells. Cell 5 of this wing alone is 9′ in length. A raised plinth 10½″ wide and 10″ high, plastered ½″ thick, runs along the side of the inner wall of the cells and is on a level with the entrances to the cells (1′10″ wide each). Perhaps cells 2 and 4 were used as store rooms, as vertical stone settings such as would be required for keeping utensils in position were found in them. In cell 5, 4″ above the floor level, was found a broad Cuddapah slab, which might have been a stone bench or even a stone from the ceiling. Nothing of importance by way of small antiquities was found in the cells of this wing, except for cell 4 which yielded a lead coin with the *Ujjain* symbol on one side and an indistinct symbol on the other (pl. XXXVI, 6) attributed to the Śātakarṇis, a round bead of stucco ¾″ in diameter, and two pieces of ivory bangles.

An opening which is not a door on the back wall (2′10″ wide) by the side of the fifth cell appears to have served as an exit on this side. The northern wing of cells which runs from east to west, is 70′9″ long. As in the case of the south-east corner of the monastery, the corresponding north-eastern corner is not uniform with the cells, but shows a larger plastered room (17′0″×9′6″). Its floor extends into the passage by 2′ and its outer wall is 3′ wide, 9″ more than in the case of the cells in this wing. This was probably a shrine, for in it was found a row of four pillars of limestone at an interval of 4′2″ on the nearer side of the passage, with a retaining wall 1½′ high between them, while, placed in the room against the inner side of the exterior wall, are two pilasters of Cuddapah stone at an interval of 4′3″. The steps leading into this room were not found. In a corner of the room was discovered a big pot (1′6″×1′4″) (pl. XXXII-A) covered by two stone lids, one square which went below and the other circular.

To the west of the shrine, there continue the row of five cells (pl. XIX-B) of this wing. A plinth 10″ wide and plastered ½″ thick runs along the wall of the cells nearer the *maṇḍapa*, with a passage between the *maṇḍapa* and the plinth which measures 9½′ wide at the western end and 8′10″ wide at the eastern end. There are traces in front of cells 3 to 5 of a narrow platform (with a length of 25′) probably in the nature of a bench or verandah for the monks to sit on. This had overlapped the earlier plinth of the cells. Between the platform which showed traces of 2″ thick lime mortar with polish and the *maṇḍapa* were found pieces of brick roof-tiles (pl. XV-B).

Cell No. 1 appears to have been important for on the floor of the north-eastern corner of it was found a limestone *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* in seven parts (pl. XXIII-A-B). It is 15″ high, 10½″ in diameter at the body and 4″ at the mouth. The impact at the time of the ruin must have jammed the vessel, but luckily it had not lost its shape. The vessel was originally designed in four parts, bottom 3¼″ high, narrow belt above it 1½″ wide, upper part of the body of the

vessel 3¼″ high, and neck 1½″ high (pl. XXIV). A rim ¾″ high and 5⅛″ in diameter is placed over the neck, the mouth of which is covered by a close-fitting limestone stopper in the shape of a double-*padma*, with seed-vessel. The double-*padma*, which is in two parts, is 2″ high, its lower part is 4½″ in diameter and its upper an inch less. Stuck to the body of the vessel were found seven limestone bits, which on examination were found to fit into a single bowl, or more probably a ceremonial umbrella 6½″ in diameter. The latter suggestion is strengthened by the discovery in the centre of an umbrella so fixed, of a pointed nail head ½″ high. The nail seems to have touched the central seed-vessel of the double-*padma* where there is a hole to prove it. The umbrella is 6½″ in diameter and 1¾″ high, and originally must have gone on the double-*padma*. Pl. XXIV-A gives an idea of the arrangement of the *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*. Such an elaborate arrangement is commensurate with the nature of its contents, for, although deposited in an unpretentious cell, the *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* yielded two small teeth (pl. XXIV-B) in an excellent state of preservation. One was a wisdom tooth (¼″ in diameter) and one came from the front of the mouth (⅛″ wide). The teeth relics are of comparatively small size, allowing one to wonder that teeth could be so small. It is surprising that the vessel was otherwise empty.

Cell No. 5 yielded a corroded iron measure of small denomination, 3½″ in diameter containing within the mud a lead coin, showing on the obverse an elephant and on the reverse something indistinct (pl. XXXVI, 10). Near this measure were found pieces of mica. Cell No. 3 has on its outer side a moulding of plaster one inch thick. Traces of similar plaster here and there on the wall suggest that it was originally plastered throughout.

MAṆḌAPA (pl. XXV): In the centre of the monastery was exposed a big *maṇḍapa* 55′ square, with six rows of limestone pillars forming five bays each way, very few of which remain intact. The stumps of most of them are *in situ*. The pillars (from a study of the few that are intact) are 1′1″×0′11″ at their base. An octagonal central part 1′6″ long is on the average characteristic of every pillar, while the sections above and below are cubical. Half lotuses over friezes of animals, birds (geese), *makaras*, *Tri-ratnas*, *stūpas* or foliage occupy the cubical area towards the octagonal section. The top of each pillar has a rectangular mortice into which a wooden beam must have fitted in the wooden battens placed above, which in turn supported a stone ceiling. This leads us to the question of the roof of the *maṇḍapa*. As no pieces of wood remain, the perishability of this material must have caused the final disintegration of the roof, and on the floor of the *maṇḍapa* as well as in the passage all around were indeed found remains of the roof. An analysis of the roof from the existing remains indicates the usage of a layer of Cuddapah slabs 1½″ thick, over which two courses of bricks were laid flat and diagonally in lime mortar. Above these are 3″ of brick concrete mixed with brick-pieces. The final course is of fine concrete 1″ thick with a plaster finish on its top which must have been the terrace. Water collecting on the terrace found its way out through limestone spouts of which three were recovered (pl. XV-A). One of them 3′1″ long must have extended and to an abnormal length of 2′, the remaining 1′1″ which bears traces of lime mortar on it was held in the mortar binding of the ceiling. Since the projecting length is more than functionally required an answer is indicated to the question of the reason for the location of a large number of stucco ornamentation found mixed with mud in the passage around the *maṇḍapa*. Nearly a third of the stucco decorations figured in pls. XVII and XVIII were found on the north-eastern corner of the passage very near the north-eastern

edge of the *maṇḍapa*. The designs are similar to those described elsewhere. The find of the spouts, one of which has been considered to project abnormally, would suggest the existence of a stone moulding or cornice, scooped as *cyma-recta*, that was fitted on to the ceiling. Naturally the spouts were long to prevent water from flowing on to the cornice. The well preserved nature of the stucco ornaments suggests their possible location underneath the cornice and above the pillars where they were safe both from human touch and sun and rain. In the Hampi ruins, in Bellary District, at Chandragiri and Gurramkoṇḍa Mahals in Chittoor District stucco work can be seen arranged similarly.

The western edge of the *maṇḍapa* gives a clear idea of the arrangement of the base and the plinth of the *maṇḍapa* (pl. XXV-A). This side was also important because it contained in its centre a flight of steps 4′10″ wide, with *makara* balustrade of Cuddapah slabs, and moon-stone 2′10″ long with a limestone revetment, of which only fragments remain. This is an important entrance to the *maṇḍapa* since it is in alignment with the main *stūpa* even though there is another smaller one on the northern side of the *maṇḍapa* lacking a balustrade. The floor of the *maṇḍapa* was probably 2′ high as indicated by the level of the passage. A cross section of the floor was made and revealed at the edges of the *maṇḍapa* more as a retaining necessity, 4 courses of bricks laid in mud mortar with the top finished with plaster ¾″ thick. The lowest brick course was laid on brick concrete mixed with mud over 6″ thick. This arrangement is found only at the edges of the *maṇḍapa*, while the centre had only an earth filling with an assortment of brick-bats and stone pieces. There appear to have been a plaster finish on the top as well as the edges.

The outer edge of the *maṇḍapa* was sectioned, revealing 3 courses ot bricks held by mud mortar with natural soil (*mooram*) below them. Above the brick course is the ground level with horizontal course of Cuddapah slabs 2″ thick supporting a limestone moulding 8″ high with *cyma-recta* showing on the outside. Over this moulding is placed a vertical course of Cuddapah slabs 10″ high on which a Cuddapah slab course 2½″ thick is laid horizontally. This appears to have projected slightly beyond the plane of the vertical course below. The top of the horizontal course marked the floor, which therefore must have been at a height of about 2′ above ground level. The limestone moulding has scattered grooved slots particularly at the corners, in which carved limestone uprights (such as those found in the workshop) to be described below (pl. XXVII-B) must have gone. They were probably held in their position on the top by the horizontal course of slabs.

The find in the monastery ruins of long water spouts of stone, limestone pillars with chases cut on their top, tiles mostly with holes, and concrete slags with a large number of thin stone slabs with a uniform width of 1′ 3″ each embedded in them seems to indicate the nature of the roofs of both the cells and the *maṇḍapa*. The cells had probably a lean-to-roof covered up with tiles while the *maṇḍapa* had a flat terraced roof at least 11″-12″ thick. A careful examination of this terraced roof revealed that its thickness of 11″-12″ was made up of a stone slab 1′ 3″ wide, two courses of thin flat bricks laid diagonally with lime mortar and two other lime concrete layers of small bricks of two different sizes and finally finished off on top with a thin layer of lime. It had been observed already that the walls of the cells were narrow ; this will lead us to conclude that the part of the monastery containing the cells and also perhaps the *maṇḍapa* had only one storey. Another interesting feature worth recording is that the southern side of the compound wall of the monastery revealed

holes which were probably meant for taking away or draining away rain water. Only stone pillars of the *maṇḍapa* were found, not the beams or rafters. We know from our study of the Amarāvatī *Stūpa* and its rail that early architecture was wooden. The beams and rafters here also ought to have been of wood and marks indicating the thickness of the rafters were noticed at the bottom of the slabs along the joint. The monastery was plastered and many of the cells still retain the old fine plaster. The *maṇḍapa* and perhaps the walls of the cells too were embellished with decorations of stucco of various designs, a arge number of which have been figured in pls. XVII and XVIII.

Other Structures (fig. 2): To the north of the *chaitya* enclosure other structures were exposed to view. At the north-western end abutting the enclosure wall of the *chaitya* and the *stūpa* was found a room (marked F in fig. 2) with a north to south axis (12′ 9″×6′ 3″) with its northern wall 3′9″ wide and its eastern wall 2′ wide. The eastern wall has a small opening 9″ wide. In this room were found fragments of spouted vessels, terracotta figurines (XXVI-B) some of them bearing lamps on their heads and necks of vessels with a large hole in the centre and a small one at the side (pl. XXII-A). This room was in all probability a store room for such things as lamps required for use in the adjoining monastery cells. A fragment of a pot adorned with rows of oil lamps fixed on its body near the mouth suggests *kuṁbha-hārati* (*i.e.*, pot of lamps), one of the auspicious marks (pl. XXII-A).

Adjoining this room is a large rooom 12′ broad and 26′ in length This room (marked 3 in plan, fig. 2) appears to widen 7′ more and extend further to a length of 49′. The room is oriented from west to east and has plaster ½″ thick over its lateral walls. 16 feet away from the lamp-room at a depth of 2′ 6″ from the supposed surface of the floor of the room, were found in orderly fashion as in a Workshop or Factory, 61 limestone slabs clearly suggestive of a sculptor's studio. Several chippings of both limestone and other stones support this identification. Out of the 61 slabs, 48 are uncarved coping slabs, each 1′ 4″×1′ 0″×2¼″, with one side flat and the other convex. These were evidently meant to go as rail copings. An interesting cross bar of a rail (1′ 1″×11″×2′) with lenticular edges has carving on one side only in which within a lotus medallion two elephants are shown in profile one behind the other (pl. XXVII-A). Eleven uprights with carving on one side only (10½″×4″—5½″×1″) show half lotuses on the top and the bottom with three vertical flutes between them (XXVII-B). Their breadth varies from 4″-5½″. The typical ones are figured in pl. XXVII-B. The designs are lotus, *acanthus*, and a variety of grouping of leaves and petals. The most interesting find in this workshop, and one which at once marks the room as such, is a grey limestone slab (1′ 8″×1′×3″) bearing in outline a sketch (pl. XXVIII) of the bracket end of a frieze displaying a *śālabhañjikā* holding the branch of a tree such as is depicted in the various friezes exposed in the earlier excavations[1]. The sketch shows a pillar on top of which is the end shaped as a *makara* head from whose mouth issues a lioness. A dwarf pulls the snout of the *makara*. In graceful pose stands the *śālabhañjikā* under the *phalke*-end lightly holding the half-worked branch of the tree that is yet to be created by the artist, her right arm on her waist. By her side is an attendant of small size holding a toilet box in her hands for the use of the *śālabhañjikā*. A stone bench 7′ long (pl. XXIX-A) was found at the extreme eastern end of the broader side of the Workshop with a dozen limestone chippings scattered nearly as if it were used for chiselling. Was it the seat of the Foreman of the Workshop ?

[1] See Longhurst's *Memoir*, No. 54, pls. XXVII-B, XXVII-A, XXIX-C, XXXII-A, XXXIII-C, XXXV-B.

To the north of the lamp-room (F), on central alignment with the *stūpa* enclosure wall, was exposed a chamber (pl. XXXI-A) which is circular on the outside with a diameter of 13′7″, but within a 6′11″ square (H, fig. 2) and with an entrance in the north 1′10″ wide and 3′6″ long. Although its exterior looks like a *stūpa*, its square interior suggests that the structure was probably a *chaitya*. But the absence of either a votive *stūpa* or an image of the Buddha in it makes the identification of the structure a puzzle. Nothing was found in it. Was this a guard room or a strong room ? These are questions which may be solved by subsequent excavation of the area further to the north, west and east.[1]

Excavations were continued to the north of this circular room and partially done in 1937-38 and completed in 1938. They exposed in an area, 134′×134′, an extensive monastery similar to that of Site No. 6 with a central *maṇḍapa* and wings of cells of different dimensions, the larger cell measuring 9′ 8″×7′ and the smaller 7′ 6″×6′ 4″. The edges of the *maṇḍapa* as well as of the wings of cells were marked by vertical limestone slabs occasionally interspersed by the entrance consisting of two or three steps including a moon-stone slab and balustrade bearing *makara*-design as in Site 6. Four such entrances can be made out in plate XXIX-B, as also the pillars of the central *maṇḍapa* that had fallen into the passage between the wings of cells and the *maṇḍapa*. The stumps of pillars can be made out at the edges of the *maṇḍapa* (pl. XXIX-B). The pillars were of three parts, *viz.* two cubical parts and a central octagonal part. The cubical parts bear designs of half-rosettes as in the case of the upright pillars of the rail of the Amarāvatī *stūpa*.

On the south-east corner of this area was exposed a square base 14′ 2″×14′ 2″, which on examination showed that it was filled in with coarse grained sand mixed with lime. This base was edged by a belt of small and thin vertical stone slabs and had an entrance on its north side 1′ 10″ wide. Another stone belt, 1′ 10″ wide, of similarly thin and vertical stone slabs, was found around it. Several pieces of pottery, jars, conch bangles, mica, iron nails, lead, glass and green stone came out of the area enclosed by the two belts. Why this area of such interesting finds has a double belt of vertical stone slabs is not clear ! Subsequent excavation may perhaps throw light on this.

Also in the area to the north of Site No. 6, were exposed from the corners of two brick-built enclosures two terracotta jars, at a depth of 2′ 3″ from the ground level. Both the jars were covered by stone lids. One was 4½″ in diameter at the mouth and 1′ 2″ high with its contents made up of fine sand mixed with fine earth. The other, 11″ in diameter at the mouth and 1′ 6″ in height contained coarse grained sand and fine earth (pl. XXXII-A). The purpose of these two jars as made out from their contents is not clear. The place of their find is evidently a cell of the monastery. Both Sri K. N. Dikshit and Sri G. C. Chandra thought that they were probably burial urns. But what have burial urns to do with a Buddhist monastery and with their contents such as fine earth and sand only is difficult to comprehend !

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[1] In subsequent excavations, two more similar rooms were exposed. The one adjoining supplies the answer, for in it was found at its south west corner a stone bed. This will go against a votive *stūpa* or a Buddha image as the content of the structure. The bed of a lay man or a monk will be the only possible clue. If so, the two others were similar guard rooms or rooms where functionaries of the monastic establishment stayed or held office

*Site No. 5*

(Pls. III-A and XXXI-B and fig. 3)

A brick *stūpa*, 36′ 3″ in diameter including the *āyaka* platform was exposed completely in 1938, 100 yards to the north-east of Site 5 (pl. XXXI-B). The construction of this *stūpa* is similar to that of *Stūpa* 3 (fig. 3). This was partially excavated by Mr. Longhurst

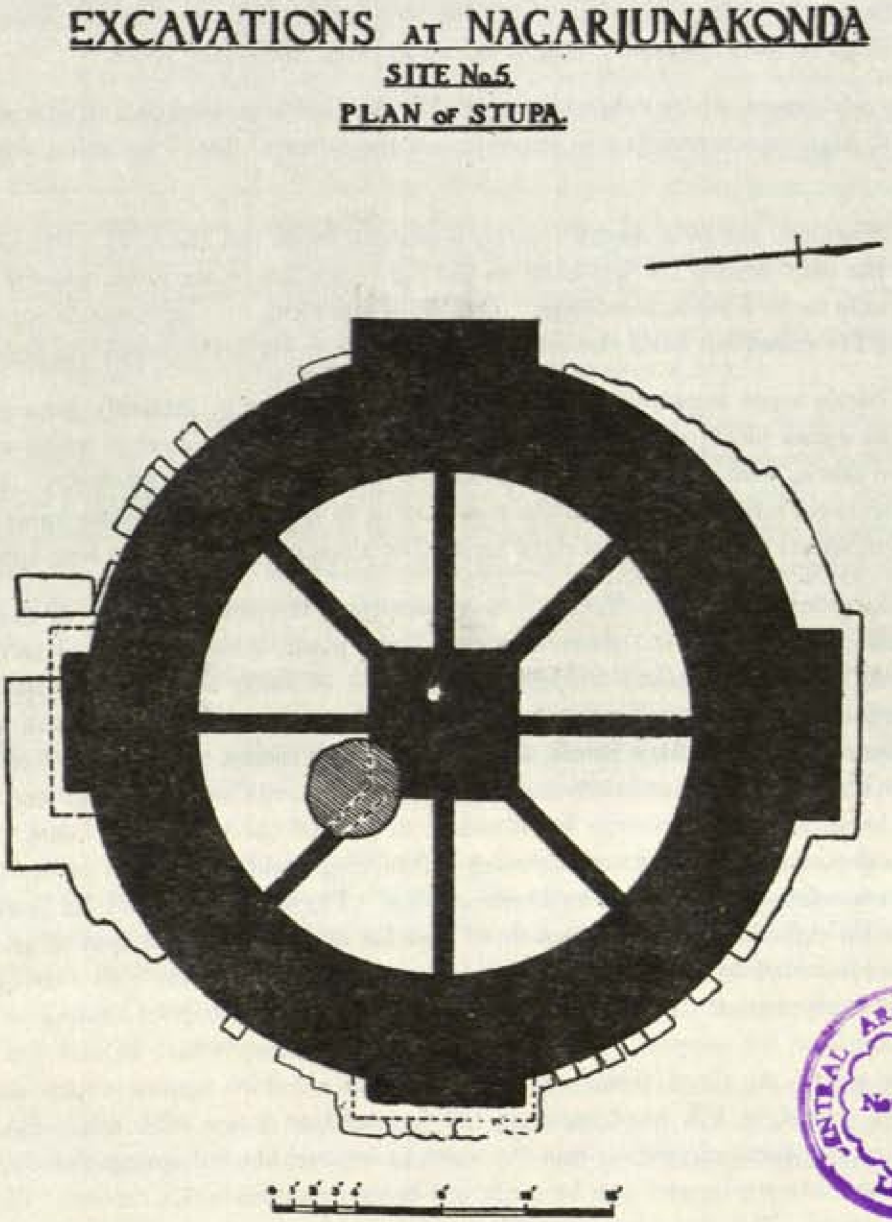



FIG. 3

who calls it *Stūpa* 2 (Memoir 54, p. 19). Although its *āyaka* platforms are present, that on the west alone remains intact, 8′ 9″ long with a projection of 1′ 9″ from the drum. The greatest height of the *stūpa* so far as it remains is 6′ and nothing was found in the interior. The outside was finished with plaster.

No *pradakshiṇa* path was traceable. The bricks were of odd shapes; the special type of bricks (20″×10″×3″) were not in evidence. Several pieces of *āyaka* pillars were found in the vicinity, only one of which (6′ high and 11″ broad with a notch 4″ square on its top) was recovered intact.

Limestone carvings from the *āyaka* platforms were found in hopeless bits, some of them taken out in earlier excavations. A few recovered this year are worth recording with their carvings of dwarfs *(gaṇas)*, *mithunas* and dancing and flying *devas*.

On a fragment, whose subject was probably the Buddha seated on a throne, are figured Śakra with high crown standing in worship, and the *torsos* of two *devas* and a *deva* holding *chāmara*.

A fragment shows a dwarfish *gaṇa* blowing a conch (pl. IX-A, 2). On another is a *mithuna*, the lady placing her left hand on the right shoulder of her lover, who by his head-dress appears to be a royal personage. In a third fragment, the lady stands conquettishly holding by her raised left hand the branch of a tree; while her lover is fondling her chin.

A battle scene is carved on a bigger fragment, 1′9″ high probably from one of the sides of the *āyaka* platform (pl. VIII-B). What remains shows a duel in which a man has fallen face down, while another collapses with a spear run through his body. Above can be seen the lower half of a man and the rear portion of a caparisoned battle-horse on whose back was mounted a warrior. His right hand (that alone remains) holds a long spear.

A large carving (4′0″×2′9″×6″) was found on the southern side of the western *āyaka* platform (pl. XXX-B). As it has a curvilinear plane, it must have gone on the drum. The carving exhibits excellent workmanship typical of Early Āndhra art, specimens of which are found in large numbers at Amarāvatī. Below a frieze of animals, such as spotted deer and lions between foliage bands, are two horizontal scenes one below the other. The top scene illustrates the lamentation at Kapilavastu when Chanda, the groom, returned with the horse Kaṇṭaka after the Buddha had renounced the world and taken to ascetic life. The groom Chanda is shown kneeling before king Śuddhodana and reporting to him the incidents relating to the Buddha's renunciation. The king has turned his head away in grief with his right hand about to touch or beat his head in an expression of grief at this fate, a pose imitated by the groom. Behind Chanda stands the horse with a drooping neck bent low in evident grief. By its side Yaśodharā is collapsing with grief holding to the neck of her attendant for support. Two other attendant women stand behind her in poses expressing grief. At the extreme right is an arched entrance against which an Amazon guard with sword in left hand watches the lamentation scene with sympathy. She is evidently on the point of rushing into the scene to support the collapsing Yaśodharā. The heads of two *chāmara*-bearers can be made out behind Śuddhodana's throne. The horse is well-caparisoned. The groom has a tunic in a pattern of flowing vertical lines which, curiously enough, is confined only to the waist like a broad sash and exposes the body, evidently worn as a token of respect in the king's presence.[1] Yaśodharā's hair-locks are hanging on one side, as they have not been completely plaited or dressed. The gateway shows arched *toraṇa* such as at Sāñchī. That Amazon guards were placed outside royal chambers here as

[1] For the complete tunic which the groom wears, *see* Longhurst's *Memoir*, No. 54, pl. XXVIII-C.

in Amarāvatī and Goli is an interesting piece of social information[1]. In the foreground can be seen a brick wall which was perhaps the rampart wall.

The scene below shows the celebration in the heavens when the *devas* of Trayastriṁśa heaven removed the head-dress of the Buddha at the time of his renunciation and, placing it on a tray, danced with joy. Accordingly a *deva* is dancing with the head-dress on a tray placed on his head, while around him are ten dancing *devas*, five on each panel.[2]

Another carving, also from the *āyaka*-platform, either from its northern or western side was found mixed up with the various bits of carvings found in Site 5. It bore signs of wanton destruction and though much of its carving was speckled out, enough remains to identify it as a *chaitya*-slab such as one comes across on the face of the Amarāvatī *Stūpa* drum (pl. XXXIII-A). The slab is in two parts, a central broad part bearing the design of a *stūpa* mostly obliterated, and a second part of flanking panels showing ornamental human couples (of which four remain) engaged in love making and dallying. Though much of the central panel is gone we can yet make out on the dome the Buddha preaching, two worshipping dwarfs, one on either side of the dome, and a *harmikā* over the dome. The poses and curves and the linear draughtsmanship of the human couples would rank the carving among the best of Indian sculpture of the Ikshvāku times (3rd century A.D.).

A long frieze also from the *āyaka*-platform contains in three sunk bands three interesting scenes (pl. XXXIII-B). The first sunk band on the left shows a *mithuna* or human couple engaged in love, the male member being a guard who holds a spear in his hand. The second sunk band which is long, contains two important scenes from the life of the Buddha, *viz.*, the triumph of Buddha over Māra's evil forces and tempting daughters and his enlightenment symbolised by an empty throne with worshippers around and tree above. The treatment of the two scenes is highly conventional, that of Māra's defeat is a regular narration showing Māra defiant at the extreme left end, the Bodhisattva sitting in meditation in all tranquillity at the right end under the *Bodhi* tree with Māra's hobgoblins and daughters about him. The second scene which shows that the Buddha had become enlightened is in symbolical language. An empty throne stands for the *supremely enlightened* (*samyak sambuddha*) whom the sculptor would no longer encumber with name or form, for did he (Tathāgata) not transgress such limits ? The surrounding worshippers bespeak the exalted condition of the *supremely enlightened*. The third sunk band reveals once more the guard with the spear and his lady-love whom we saw in the first band on the left end. The guard wears a long cloak such as the *kañchukin* or usher in royal households is described as wearing in ancient Saṇskrit literature. Below the three panels runs a long frieze of geese alternating with lotus flowers.

Two bits, also from the *āyaka*-area contain scenes of distinct iconographic value (pl. XXXIII, C-D). On one is represented the ideal *chakravartin* or a monarch such as Buddhist texts describe him to be and such as we find in Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa *Stūpas*[3].

A *chakravartin* is supposed to be associated with seven precious things (*sapta-ratnas*) *viz.*, parasol, wheel, drum or jewel (*maṇi*), queen, horse, elephant and treasurer (or

[1] This recalls the appointment of Amazon guards even in the times of the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta.

[2] Cf. rail copings from the Amarāvatī *stūpa* ; Burgess, *Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa Stūpas*, Pl. XXI.

[3] T. N. Ramachandran, *The identification of a Buddhist Sculpture from Jaggayyapeṭa*, 7th Oriental Conference, pp. 763-772.

prince). Here two of the *ratnas*, *viz.*, the queen and the wheel on a short pillar are shown by the side of the *chakravartin* who is standing in a pose of elegance and grandeur (pl. XXXIII-C). The sculpture being broken the other details are lost. The treatment of the subject is as in Amarāvatī rail[1].

Another fragment also from Site 5, contains scenes from the *Vessantara Jātaka*[2]. This *Jātaka* was the last of the previous births of the Buddha. Prince Vessantara was devoted to giving gifts and alienated the subjects of his father, the king, by giving away to the Kaliṅga brahmins a white elephant which produced rain wherever it went. The subjects complained to the king against the generosity of the prince and prevailed on him to banish his son to the forest. Accordingly the prince was banished with his family into the forest where he gave away by degrees to brahmins who approached him his chariot, horses, and two children, and to Śakra, the king of the gods, his own wife, when he demanded her as a gift, chiefly to put the prince's generosity to the test. Śakra revealed his form and gave her back to the prince together with many boons. The children were set free by their grandfather, the king, through whose land they happened to be taken by the brahmin. With the aid of his grand-children the king sought the prince and his wife in the forest and brought them to the kingdom where all ended well.

The carving relates to the gift of the children to a brahmin when their mother was absent, being detained in the forest. Trees and rocks indicate the scene of occurrence as a forest. In the foreground the brahmin, who had received the two children as gift, is seen driving them away through the forest, beating them with a staff held in his right hand. The left hand of the brahmin holds the characteristic umbrella of the brahmin. The children are looking back at the brahmin with terror and hands folded in worship as though they were beseaching his mercy. According to the story the brahmin went into the jungle, bit off a creeper and with it bound the boy's right hand to the girl's left and drove them away beating them with the ends of the creeper. The background shows their mother Mādri in the forest fatigued and carrying on her shoulder as in Amarāvatī and Goli sculptures[3] a bamboo to the ends of which are suspended two baskets, doubtless containing the fruits that she had collected. She is probably returning to the hut where her husband and children were left. She is approaching trembling, either apprehending some mishap at the hut, or at sight of the lions in front of her, which are also shown in Goli and Amarāvatī. It is said that the gods, in order to aid the prince in the gift of the children without any obstruction from their mother, detained her purposely in the forest till dusk by presenting before her a lion, a tiger, and a leopard which obstructed her way. The sculptor has added life to the scene by introducing a deer in the foreground behind the greedy and cruel brahmin thereby affording a convincing proof that the story happened in the forest, that of the gift of the children in a lighter part of it and that of Mādri in the thick of the jungle. The rest of the story was doubtless depicted on the right which is unfortunately broken and lost.

Three more pieces relate to three steles (pl. XIII). One relates to the conventional method of representing the *First Sermon* that the Buddha propounded in the Deer-Park at Sārnāth, in the manner of letting in details such as two deer facing each other at the

[1] Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, pl. XXXIII, 1-b.

[2] The *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, No. 547 (edition of Cowell).

[3] Fergusson, pl. LXV, fig. 1; T. N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stūpa near Goli village*, pl. VI.

bottom, an empty throne in the centre with cushions spread on it, and a *deva* waving *chāmara* on either side and a pillar of effulgence and flames surmounted by the *Tri-ratna* symbol above the throne. The *Tri-ratna* stands for the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha*. The pillar of effulgence above the throne normally stands for the miracle of Śrāvastī that the Buddha performed. But here the depiction of 2 deer at the foot of the throne not only points out that the scene meant was the *First Sermon* but also that the pillar of flames coupled with an empty throne just stands for the presence of the *supremely enlightened* Buddha. On a second stele the above said details occur except the flanking *devas* and the two deer. Instead a *makara* with strings of pearls issuing from its mouth is found on the left of the pillar of flame and effulgence. The pillar supports a *Tri-ratna*. In the present case the absence of deer would warrant the scene as likely to relate to the miracle of Śrāvastī. The third stele shows in a vertical order a half-rosette and addorsed winged lions recumbent on a *pūrṇaghaṭa*. The carving on the three steles is intricate (pl. XIII, B, C, D).

Another carving from the eastern *āyaka* platform (4′ 0″×2′ 10″×5″) depicts two unidentified scenes both apparently related, one (top) taking place in a village and the other (bottom) in a forest (pl. XXX-A). Three roof-huts with a crow perched on one mark the village. At the extreme ends are small bights formed by the arch. The left bight shows a tree on which two birds (owl-like) are sitting. In the right bight is a king on horseback followed by two of his men with conical caps and with shields in their hands and probably similarly mounted, though their horses are not in view. The party appears to be proceeding to the village. In the village stands a lady holding a child on her right hip. Beside her are two men and a lady, one of the men holding a spear in his hand and looking away from her as if attracted by noise outside. A low chair behind the lady with the child was evidently meant for her to sit. The lady is shown again on the left, this time without the child, suggesting that the child had been taken away or snatched away from her by the horsemen who evidently came for the child. Her looks and the expression of a number of people in front of her, three of whom are beating their heads with their hands, betoken grief such as would follow an event such as the separation of the child. A person of dignity at the extreme left end is perhaps the master of the house who by being shown outside the village indicates perhaps his intention to search and reclaim the child. Two birds (owl-like) perched on the tree and realistically rendered as though they are in sympathy betoken the sense of the scene, which is grief. A dog is introduced near the village gateway. The entire scene throbs with realism. The scene below shows on the right the royal horseman on horseback with his followers, two of whom hold spears and shields, while two others are newly introduced, one of them holding a sheathed sword which was attached to a band hanging from his left shoulder. In front of the king is a grotto in which an elephant is shown, and above the elephant is an overhanging tree in the hollow of which can be seen a human head. Is it that of a tree spirit (*brahma-rakshas*) ? The story that the scene represents is not clear. But a similar representation can be seen at Amarāvatī in a coping piece of the rail.[1]

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[1] Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta*, pl. XLIX, 2.

### *Site No. 2*

Around the *maṇḍapa* of the *Mahāchaitya* excavated by Mr. Longhurst[1] was excavated in 1938 a monastery (fig. 4) which consists of three irregular wings, north, east and south. On the west, there was no wing because of the location of the *chaitya* built by Princess Chām-

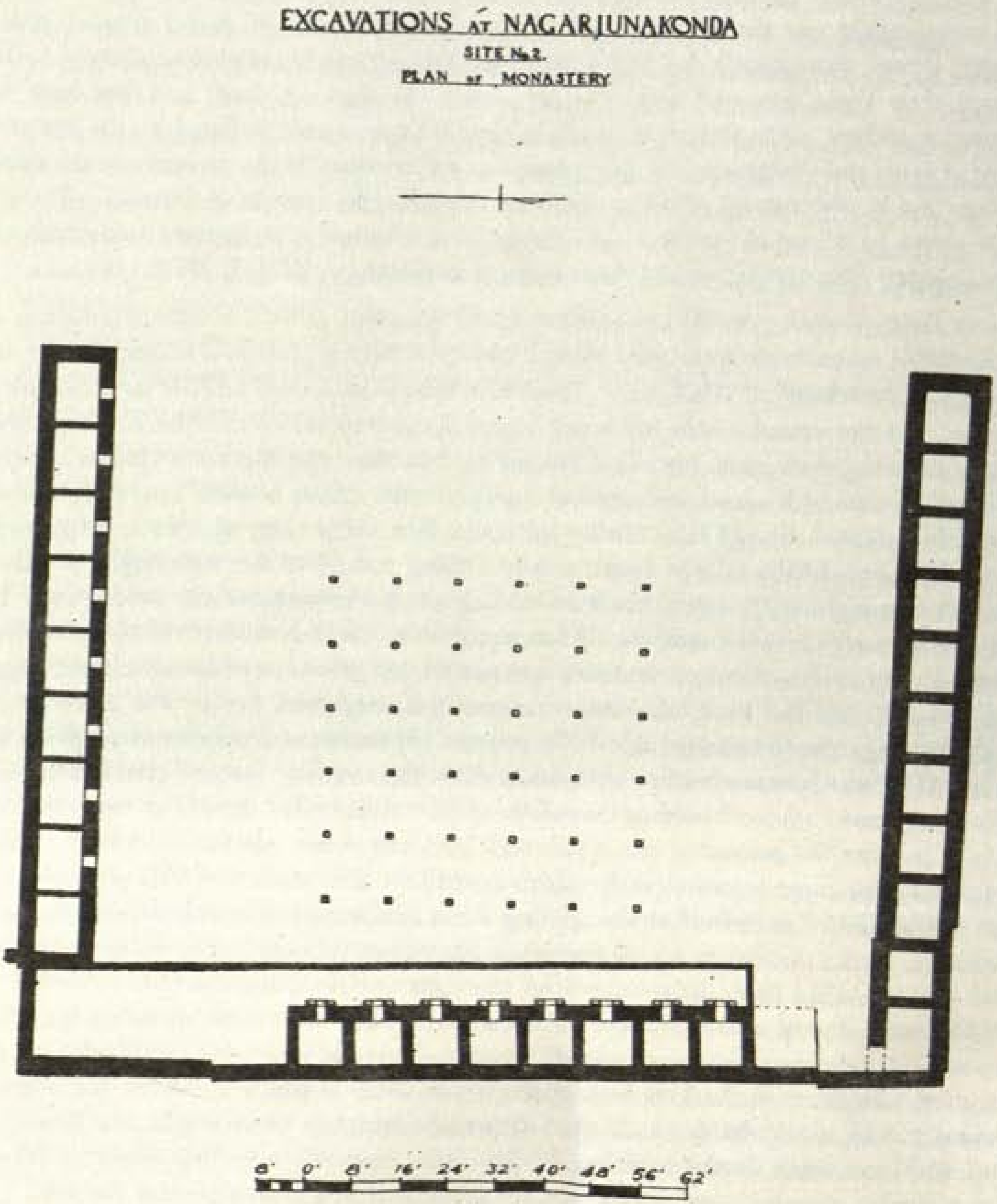



FIG. 4.

tisiri on the south-western corner. The *maṇḍapa* in the centre, on correct alignment with the *Mahāchaitya* exposed earlier, is 52′ square and consists of a double set of six rows of pillars forming five bays.

[1] *A. S. I., Memoir*, No. 54, pl. IV-A.

The southern wing which consists of 9 cells is at a distance of 36′ 7″ at the western end and 37′ 8″ at the eastern end from the outer edge of the *maṇḍapa*. The face of the back wall of the cells seems to have been plastered. Entrances 1′ 9″ wide each, which faced north, were found in the case of the first eight cells only. Large-sized bricks (20″×10″×3″) are found particularly in the walls between cells. At the extreme end of the ninth cell is a wall (2′ 6″ wide) which projects 2′ 3″ beyond the outer wall of the cell, while its width here is less by 6″.

There are no traces of a verandah for this row of cells, but a brick layer 6′ 6″ long and 10″ wide runs south to north from the edge of the inner wall of the cells. At first it suggested that it was perhaps the edge of a verandah, but when the eastern row of cells was exposed, it was found to be just a continuation of the retaining wall of its verandah. Beyond this to the east is a long room (42′ 3″ × 14′ 3″) where there were no traces of cross-walls. In it were found a number of potsherds (pl. XXI-B), bowls (pl. XXI-A), spouted vessels, pans (pl. XXII-B), lids and stands of vessles perforated by a central large hole with a small hole by its side (pl. XXII-A), pieces of human bones (XXVI-A), of ivory bangles and of tile bricks (pl. XV-B).

The eastern wing also contains nine cells and is 88′ 2½″ long and 12′ broad including the thickness of its walls. Entrances are 1′ 9″ wide each and have a projection 10″ wide and 5′ long on which traces of brick mouldings 1′ 8″ wide particularly on the first cell, are visible. The interior of the first cell was edged by stone slabs, an arrangement not present in any other cells. Consequently the cell must have been of some importance. In it was found an oval pot shaped like a cocoanut (pl. XXXII-B), 7½″ in height with a series of three small holes around the mouth. In this pot were found two lead coins[1] probably Āndhra, with indistinct emblems (pl. XXXVI, 4, 11). This row of cells alone has a verandah 6′ 9″ wide and 78′ long. The distance between its outer edge and the *maṇḍapa* is 9′ 10″ at the southern end, and 8′ at the northern end. In this passage were found a number of stucco pieces, which probably fell with the *maṇḍapa*. They have various geometrical and floral designs similar to those found in Site No. 6, as well as a lion-head and a parrot-head (pl. XVIII).

Beyond the eighth cell, there are no traces of walls for a distance of 18′ 8″ where the northern row of cells is placed. But in this space, at a distance of 8′ 7″, is what appears to be a low screen wall abutting east from the back wall to a length of 6′ 10″. Between the screen wall and the eighth cell were found two pots, in one of which were found nine pieces of bones. Why this was deposited here is unknown! At the southern end of this wing were found a pottery cup (pl. XXI-A), a pan and mouths of pots with holes.

The northern row of cells which runs east to west to a length of 112′ 7″ contains eleven cells. No traces of verandah or of entrances were found to these cells excepting the ninth which has a stepping stone in front. This, though strange, remains as yet unexplained. The passage between the outer edge of the *maṇḍapa* and the cells is 39′ at the eastern end and 40′ at the western. Here and there a few traces of brick moulding 1′ 4½″ wide were found near the spot where there must have been entrances. A circular terracotta bead 1″ in diameter, a bead of carnelian and an interesting stone matrix with two floral die marks on it (pl XV-B) were picked up in the monastery area, but their exact location is unknown.

[1] See below, pp. 30-31.

## SAṀSKṚIT INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions so far discovered in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are in Prākṛit and of the Ikshvāku dynasty of kings belonging to the period 200-260 A. D. It is therefore interesting that in 1938 two inscriptions in Saṁskṛit, incised on blue limestone, were found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Both are broken and in pieces. One, 12″×6″ (bearing Register No. 399/28), has an inscription in nine lines, the extant portion of which speaks of an exponent of Dharma (*Dharmakathika*) whose name is lost but is described as *śuddh-āchāra-vṛitta*, etc. The script is Brāhmī of about 450-500 A. D. The palaeographical features of the inscription compare very well with those of the Saṁskṛit inscriptions occurring in Jaggayyapeṭa and Gummiḍidurṛu *stūpas*, Krishṇā district. In view of the importance of these inscriptions to our study, they are discussed below, by the side of the Saṁskṛit inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa under consideration :-

### I

*Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*

Inscription on a fragmentary blue limestone slab (12″×6″), in Brāhmī script of about 450-500 A. D., and language Saṁskṛit (pl. XXXIV, 1) :—

Line 1. ............................................................................................la
2. gasya śuddhāchāravṛittasya akuṇṭhāchchhidrā[ma]
3. lākalmāshaśīlasya hetvarthaśabdaśāstra kṛtapa (ri)
4. śramasya āgamavinayopadeśaprakaraṇācharyyama-
5. tadharasya vṛittaśrutamativāg-vaiśāradyaguṇopapaṁ-
6. nasya dharmmakathika p(r)avī(ṇa)sya viniśchaya
7. kathikaviśishṭasya maṁ (tra)........................pītaddhva
8. jasamṛiddha sa........................
9. ya............

The extant portion of the inscription relates to a *Dharmakathika* or narrator by profession of Dharma, whose name is lost. He is described as well-behaved, of strong, flawless clean and spotless conduct and character, as one who had toiled hard in the subjects of logic, polity and grammar, whose *mata* or creed was one which took in traditional doctrine, scripture, initiation, treatise or explanation, and every thing enjoined to be acted in a customary manner (*ācharya=ācharaṇīya*), who possessed such very desirable qualities as skill in speech or eloquence, in devotion, in oral tradition or revelation and a virtuous conduct, who was a highly skilled exponent or speaker of Dharma, who was best among those propounders well-versed in " fixing or settling a horoscope ", and whom the yellow flag or order furnished amply.

### II

*Jaggayyapeṭa*

Turning to the Saṁskṛit inscription from the *Stūpa* at Jaggayyapeṭa, Nandigāma Taluk, Kṛishnā District, it has to be noted that like Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapeṭa has yielded one Saṁskṛit inscription among others, all Prākṛit records of the Ikshvāku King Siri Vīra Purisadata. The inscription is incised in 5 lines below the feet of a standing

Buddha image in high relief[1] and records the setting up of the image for universal beatitude by one Chandraprabha, a pupil of Jayaprabhāchārya, who in turn was a pupil of the Venerable Nāgārjunāchārya. It reads as :—

Line 1. Svasti bhadanta Nāgārjunāchāryyasya

2. śishya(ḥ) Jayaprabhāchāryya(ḥ) tachchhishyeṇa Cha(ndra)-

3. prabheṇa kārāpitāṁ satya-sugata-gata-prasāda-viśeshaviśishṭa-saṁsāre deva-manu (ja)

4. vibhūtipūrvvakaṁ Buddhattva-prāpti-nimittaṁ Buddha-pratimām pratishṭhāpitāṁ anumodanā (ṁ)

5. kurvvantu sarvve Saugaty-āgraya (?) ṇyo pi

Nāgārjuna referred to in this inscription is probably the later Tāntric Guru, Siddha Nāgārjuna, who was one of the 84 Siddhas, and has therefore to be distinguished from the earlier Āchārya Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy, who flourished in the second century A.D. The "Bhadanta Nāgārjuna" referred to here would appear to be the disciple of Saraha, who became famous for his mastery of Māyūrī-vidyā. His period was probably the fifth century A. D.

## III

*Gummiḍidurru*

Below the standing figure of Buddha in high relief discovered on the outer facing of the drum of a Buddhist *stūpa* at Gummiḍidurru, runs in 4 lines the following inscription in Saṁskṛit language and in Brāhmī script of the 5th century A. D. as in the other two cases described above (pl. XXXIV-2) :—

Line 1. Āchāryya Maugalyāyaṇasya priyaśishyasyāchāryya

Line 2. (Dha)rmmadevasya śishyeṇa śrāmaṇaka Rāhulena Bhagavato

Line 3. pratimā pratishṭhāpitā sarvvasatvānām anuttarajñā-

Line 4. nāvāptayē yadatra puṇyam tad-bhavatu satvānāṁ

"For universal beatitude has been set up an image of Bhagavat (Buddha) by Śramaṇa Rāhula, pupil of Āchārya Dharmadeva, who was in turn the intimate disciple of Āchārya Maugalyāyaṇa"

The idea of the "Deer Park" and by association *Dharmachakrapravartana* are suggested by deer being carved in the image on either side of the Buddha's feet.

[1] Burgess, *Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta Stūpas*, pls. LV, fig. 5 and LXIII, fig. 4.

## COINS

The number of coins discovered from Sites 2, 5 and 6 of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is poor when compared to the yield of other antiquities (*e.g.* sculptures, pottery and stucco decorations). Of gold there was only one, of lead there were 17, while of silver and copper there were none.

The gold coin is of great interest being one of the Roman emperor Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) probably issued in 125 A.D. It may be described as follows :—

### Aureus

| No. | Weight | Size | Obverse | Reverse |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 104·0 gr. | dia. ·8 | *HADRIANUS AUGUSTUS* Bust laureate, draped, cuirassed r. | Hadrian on horse-back to right with his right hand raised. COS III |

*Pl. XXXVI, No. 1.*

Roman trade and maritime traffic is, as we saw above, attested to by the find of Roman coins here as well as in the Coromandel coast.

The lead coins which are mostly issues of the Āndhra dynasty are described below :—

### Lead : Round

| No. | Weight | Size | Obverse | Reverse | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 190·5 | ·9" | Lion standing to r. | Obliterated | *Pl. XXXVI-2.* cf. Rapson, Pl. III, 37, 42. Fabric B of Āndhra-deśa. |
| 3 | 151·6 | ·9" | Lion standing to r. | Indistinct | Ditto *Pl. XXXVI-3* |
| 4 | 205·1 | 1·0" | Hopelessly obliterated. Coin similar to Rapson No. 133 (Pl. VI, 133). Perhaps issue of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi (Date 184 A.D.) *cf.* Sewell "from Amaravati" (*IA*, IX, p. 63). | | *Pl. XXXVI-4* |
| 5 | 40·3 | ·5" | Lion standing to r. | Hill symbol consisting of three tiers; double lines below. | The type 'Lion and Chaitya or hill' connects this coin with Fabric B of Āndhra-deśa. *Pl. XXXVI-5.* |
| 6 | 24·15 | ·53" | Animal, possibly elephant | Ujjain symbol | The type connects it with Fabric B of Āndhra-deśa. Cf. Rapson, Pl. VII, 185. *Pl. XXXVI-6.* |
| 7 | 28·5 | ·48" | Elephant with inscription of which *sa* is clear | Portion of a continuous pattern composed of Ujjain symbols connected. | cf. Rapson, variants. Pl. VII, 184, 187, 188. *Pl. XXXVI-7.* |

| No. | Weight | Size | Obverse | Reverse | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | 28·2 | ·52" | Elephant | Ujjain symbol | cf. Rapson, Pl. VII, 184, 197. *Pl. XXXVI-8.* |
| 9 | 34·0 | ·5" | Animal (elephant ?). Traces of the legend in which *Ma* alone can be made out. | Blurred | cf. Rapson, 184, 185 (Pl. VII). *Pl. XXXVI-9.* |
| 10 | 29·2 | ·53" | Elephant | Ujjain symbol | cf. Rapson, Pl. VII, 197. *Pl. XXXVI-10.* |
| 11 | 28·1 | ·53" | Elephant | Ujjain symbol | cf. Rapson, Pl. VII, 197. *Pl. XXXVI-11.* |
| 12 | 26·0 | ·45" | Man or god with right hand raised | Blurred | *Pl. XXXVI-12* |
| 13 | 33·25 | ·59" | Obliterated | Obliterated | |
| 14 | 41·45 | ·53" | Obliterated | Obliterated | |
| 15 | 19·6 | ·51" | Obliterated | Obliterated | |
| 16 | 33·9 | ·56" | Obliterated | Obliterated | |
| 17 | 25·45 | ·45" | Obliterated | Obliterated | |
| 18 | 27·20 | ·58" | Obliterated | Obliterated | |

## APPENDIX

### A. Māndhātu Jātaka

The *Māndhātu Jātaka* is one of the previous birth-stories of the Bodhisattva which was popular among all sections of the Buddhists and occurs in Pāli, Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist writings.[1]

This *Jātaka* is elaborately depicted in 18 panels at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and to a similar extent in the Amarāvatī *Stūpa* and rails in Guṇṭūr District. It also occurs in Bhājā Caves near Poona. It is, however, less known in Northern India. Its elaborate representation in the Deccan and Āndhra-deśa speaks for its popularity in the Kingdom of the Āndhras and the Ikshvākus to whom the moral that avarice has no limit and pride has its own fall appears to have had a distinct appeal, thanks to the advent of famous Buddhist *Āchāryas* including Nāgārjuna.

In olden days, when the life of man was of unlimited duration, the Bodhisattva was born as the son of King *Uposhadha*. *Uposhadha* had a soft tumour on the crown of his head and it was from this tumour that a boy came out who was therefore named as *Mūrdhaja* (Crown-born). *Uposhadha's* eighty thousand wives saw the child and immediately milk began to flow from their breasts, and they cried out 'Let him suck me', 'Let him suck me' (*māṁ dhāyatu*) wherefore he received the name 'Māndhātā' (Māndhātar). Once while Māndhātā, as a prince, was absent on a journey, his father died. The ministers requested the prince to return to the Capital to assume regal power. Māndhātā was already proud and wanted that the Regal Investiture Ceremony must be done to him wherever he was, adding that if he acquired the power of sovereignty in accordance with the law, the Ceremony must be held wherever he wanted it. His wish was respected and the consecration took place outside the city. The seven treasures (*ratnas*) that go with sovereignty, namely; Wheel, Elephant, Horse, Gem (*maṇi*), Wife, Householder and Minister, began to wait on him and followed him like shadow. Also there fell to his share one thousand heroic and handsome sons. As his powers increased he became proportionately proud. Once he banished from his realm some *Ṛishis* because one of them cursed some noisy cranes so that they lost the power of their wings. The *Ṛishis* were afraid of him, moved out of his kingdom and betook themselves to the slopes of *Sumeru*. The King became a lover of flattery and was fond of repeating his own glory before his subjects. Once he wished that a rain of precious stones should fall within his palace and not a single piece of stone outside his palace. It happened so and this increased his pride. He became the overlord of *Jambūdvīpa*. A Yaksha by name *Divaukasa* was his runner in all his exploits, and informed him of the various other worlds that he had yet to conquer. Such were *Pūrvavidehadvīpa*, *Aparagodāniya dvīpa*, *Uttarkuru-dvīpa*, which were subdued in turn by Māndhātā. The Yaksha now informed him that the heaven of the thirtythree gods (*Trayastriṁśa*) alone remained to be conquered which was on the summit of mount Sumeru surrounded by seven golden mountains and with five defences. Goaded thus by the Yaksha *Divaukasa*, Māndhātā proceeded heavenwards with a big army and his *ratnas* and sons. He over-ran mounts *Nemindhara Aśvakarṇa*, *Sudarśana*, *Khadiraka*, *Īśādhara*, and *Yugandhara*. On the slopes of Sumeru he saw the band of *Ṛishis* including sage *Durmukha* banished by the King from Vaiśālī for the act of one of them cursing the cranes to lose the power of their wings. *Durmukha* wanted to stop the progress of Māndhātā by his yogic power. But one of the *ratnas* of Māndhātā, namely his minister, checked the *Ṛishi* by warning him that Māndhātā was everywhere victorious and that therefore it will no longer be a case of cranes. Still the *Ṛishi* stopped the army of Māndhātā. Enraged at this Māndhātā ordered that the matted hair (*jaṭās*) of the *Ṛishis* should fall immediately and that in their hairless condition the *Ṛishis* must move in front of him. The treasure of his wife (*Strī-ratna*) pleaded with the King that since the *Ṛishis* were practising *tapas*, they ought to be left in peace to continue their penance. The King yielded and the *Ṛishis* betook themselves again to penance.

Māndhātā went on ascending higher and higher mount *Sumeru* and his army and seven *ratnas* followed him. His aim was to conquer the *Trayastriṁśa* heaven, which had five defences. The first defence was by *Nāgas* who inhabited the waters (*Udakaniśritā Nāgāḥ*). The second defence was by *Yakshas* who bore in their hands skulls (*Karoṭapāṇayo devāḥ*). The third defence was provided by garland-wearing *devas*; the fourth

[1] *Jātaka*, No. 258, Vol. II, Rouse's translation, pp. 216-218, *Bodhisattvā-vadāna-kalpalatā*, No. 4, p. 123 and *Divyāvadāna* (Edition Cowell and Neil), pp. 210-224; *Tibetan Tales* translated from the Tibetan of the *Kangyur* by Schiefner & Ralston, pp. 1 to 20.

was the defence of the ever-elevated gods (*sadāmatta-devāḥ*). The fifth defence was provided by the four Mahārājas. The water-inhabiting *Nāgas* were the first to stop Māndhātā's army. Māndhātā conquered them in no time and made them form his advance guard. At the next defence formed by the skull-bearing *Yakshas*, the *Nāgas* turned hostile and combining with the *Yakshas* gave battle to Māndhātā. Both the *Yakshas* and the *Nāgas* were subdued and Māndhātā moved on. The garland-wearing *devas*, who formed the third defence, checked Māndhātā being supported by *Nāgas* and *Yakshas*. All the three were this time subdued. The fourth defence was provided by the ever-elevated gods (*sadāmattas*). They were similarly subdued and were made to march in front of Māndhātā. By now Māndhātā had reached the kingdom of the four Mahārājas who reflected that Māndhātā must be a being endowed with great merit and that therefore they should not give him battle. They received him with due honours. On the summit of Sumeru, Māndhātā saw the divine trees *Pārijāta* and *Kovidāra* under which the thirty-three gods sported and enjoyed themselves. He ordered his subjects to enjoy themselves likewise under these trees. Then he saw the divine hall, *Sudharmā*, the meeting place of the thirty-three gods and the four Mahārājas, which he now entered. In it were arranged seats, a central one for Śakra, the king of the gods, and side seats for the thirty-three gods and for thirty-two under-kings. Māndhātā's seat was prepared for him at the end of all these seats. The proud Māndhātā was not satisfied with this arrangement of his seat, and conceived the idea that Śakra ought to give up to him half of his own seat. Śakra divined his idea and yielded him half of his seat. From thence Māndhātā shared the seat with Śakra. When both were thus assembled, it was difficult to distinguish the one from the other except that Śakra never closed his eyes. Māndhātā continued to share the throne with Śakra for thirty-six *Śakrakalpas*. It looked as though the Śakras might come and go but Māndhātā would go on for ever.

Once Māndhātā inflicted such a severe defeat on the *Asuras* that he began to feel that he was superior to the thirty-three gods and Śakra. He was not satisfied with a half of Śakra's seat. He determined to expel Śakra and take full possession of the throne. It was this evil desire that brought about his downfall. He could not kill Śakra and his evil thought caused him to age. As no human being disintegrates in heaven, he fell down through the firmament and sky to *Jambūdvipa* in a park of his capital city. The park-keeper informed his wives, ministers and subjects who came and sheltered him in a corner of the park, where he was laid on a cot as he was attacked by illness and death-agonies. His ministers, state officials, astrologers and other spell-workers surrounded him and pressed him for a message to the world which he gave as follows before the last spark of life left him :—

> " King Māndhātā, who possessed the seven treasures, who with a fourfold host of men acquired power over the four *dvīpas*, and made his way to the abode of the thirty-three gods, is said to have died before he had obtained satisfaction through the fivefold pleasures of sense.
>
> Even by a rain of gold pieces will wishes not be satisfied. The wise man, he who knows that wishes bring but little enjoyment and much sorrow, takes no delight even in divine enjoyments. The hearer of the perfected Buddha rejoices when desire fails. Even if a mountain of gold were like unto Himavant, yet it would not suffice for the wealth of a single individual ; that the discerning one knows full well. He who observes sorrows, starting from this base, how can he take pleasure in enjoyments. He who is steady, who has learnt to recognise the thorn in the treasures of the world will learn the essence of things to his own correction.
>
> If one knows that the future lasts long but life is only brief, then ought one to acquire merits. If one does not acquire merits, then one has sorrow. Therefore must he who is acquiring merits offer sacrificial gifts, as is fitting. In this world and in the future will he, if he offer up gifts, obtain happiness ".

Pls. XXXVII and XXXVIII aptly illustrate the *prologue* and *epilogue* of the drama of Māndhātā, the rise and fall of this *Chakravartin's* pride.

In pl. XXXVII-A, he is subduing the water-inhabiting *Nāgas*, that formed the first defence of the *Trayastrimśa* heaven. He is crushing the *Nāga* whose hoods are in evidence. His minister-*ratna* and host stand by his side watching the subjugation of the *Nāga*. One of his men holds a *parasol* above him.

In pl. XXXVII-B, the story continues. Māndhātā surrounded by his seven *ratnas* (wheel, *maṇi*, horse, treasurer, elephant, wife and minister) is trampling on a *maṇikaṇṭha Nāga* whose jewel (*maṇi*) can be

seen in the neck of the serpent. The *Nāga* represented here is a serpent of many hoods of the *maṇikaṇṭha* class. Māndhātā is next shown in the same panel as seated on the same throne that Śakra occupies in token of Śakra having granted him half sovereignty of the thirty-three gods. Śakra wears a high crown with the celestial nymphs in attendance. One of the thirty-three gods is seated below the throne. Māndhātā can be distinguished from Śakra by a jewelled turban that he wears.

The end of the story or the *epilogue* is illustrated in pl. XXXVIII. As a result of the evil thought to kill Śakra that Māndhātā evinced, he fell down from the heaven through the sky into the park of his own palace. The sky region is shown in the plate at the extreme left corner in the manner of a circular bight in which the crescent moon, 10 stars and a comet (*dhūmaketu*) are carved. The dying king is collapsing while his chief queen, supporting him, is splashing water on his face to revive him. Two other queens of his are seated one on either side of the cot on which Māndhātā is reclining. The minister, the spell-worker, and other state officials are also represented in the panel. One of the men and an attendant woman are pointing at the sky region. Perhaps they are indicating the *dhūmaketu*, an evil omen which according to Indian belief is supposed to portend calamity, in the present case the death of Māndhātā. Another explanation may be that the two persons pointing at the sky region are perhaps alluding to the circumstance of Māndhātā's fall from the heaven through the sky to the mortal world.[1] The minister is seated in a frontal pose and by the gesture of his right hand expresses sorrow and concern at Māndhātā's death-agony.

Other details from the story of Māndhātā have been illustrated by Mr. Longhurst in his *Memoir* No. 54, pls. XXX-(*b*) & (*c*), XXXI-(*a*) & (*b*), XXXIX-(*a*) & (*b*), XLIII-(*a*) & (*b*).

## B. The Buddhist Sects[2]

The Vinaya traditions record that in the Second Council held about a century after the Buddha's death, the *saṅgha* established by the Tathāgata revealed its first cleavage when sharp differences of opinion showed their head in regard to (1) doctrine, (2) interpretation of the 10 points of discipline and (3) even dress and the cutting and wearing of robes. Regarding dress, I-tsing, though a late chronicler, says—" Each school has traditions handed down from teacher to pupil, each perfectly defined and distinct from the other"[3]. The monks fell into two schools, one, the *orthodox* school which included the monks of Avanti, Kauśāmbī and other western countries and noted for a rigid interpretation of the disciplinary rules, and the other, the *unorthodox* or the heterodox school including the monks of Vaiśālī, Pāṭaliputra and other eastern countries which was more liberal and laid stress on the principle of discretion in the application of the disciplinary rules. From disciplinary rules, the difference spread gradually into the region of doctrine till the *saṅgha* split into 18 sects, " one espousing certain doctrines as against another, and some of the doctrines even going to the length of being almost un-Buddhistic ".

There were soon schisms both in the *Orthodox* and *Unorthodox* schools.

The *Orthodox* developed 11 sub-sects as follows :—

1. Theravāda or Ārya Sthaviranikāya.
2. Mahīśāsaka—appeared in the 3rd century after the Buddha's death.
3. Kāśyapīya—appeared between the end of 3rd and beginning of 4th centuries after the Buddha's death.
4. Sautrāntika—ditto.
5. Suttavāda.

[1] Before King Edward the VII's death, a Comet appeared and people believed that it indicated the death of the King.

[2] Reference is invited on this to Nalinaksha Dutt, *The Buddhist Sects, a Survey*; pp. 282*ff*. Burnouf (*Lotus*, 357*ff*.) and Wassilief (*Buddhismus*, 223*ff*.), Beal (*Ind. Ant.* 1880, 299*ff*.) and Rhys Davids (*JRAS*., 1891, 411*ff*., 1892, 5*ff*.), Takakusu (*I-tsing*, xxiii) and Csoma Korosi (*As. Res.* xx, 298*ff*.), Burgess (*Cave Temples of* India) and Bühler (*JRAS*., 1892), Walleser (*Die Sekten de alten Buddhismus*), Oldenberg (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, Intro.) and La Vallee Poussin (*Ind. Ant.* 1908 *ff*.), Masuda (*Asia Major*, II) and Mrs. Rhys Davids (*Points of Controversy*, Intro.).

[3] Takakusu, I-tsing, p. 6.

6. Sāṁmitīya or Vātsīputtīya—3rd century after the Buddha's death.
7. Dharmottarīya—appeared in the 3rd century after the Buddha's death.
8. Dharmagupta—appeared at the end of the 3rd and beginning of 4th centuries after the Buddha's death.
9. Sarvāstivāda—appeared at the beginning of the 3rd century after the Buddha's death.
10. Bhadrayānīya.
11. Channagarika—appeared in the 3rd century after the Buddha's death.

The *Unorthodox* school was divided into seven :—

1. Mahāsāṅghika—2nd century after the Buddha's death.
2. Gokulika (Kukkulika)—appeared in the 2nd century after the Buddha's death.
3. Prajñaptivāda—ditto.
4. Bahuśrutīya.
5. Chetiyavāda—appeared at the end of the 2nd century after the Buddha's death.
6. Ekavyavahārika—appeared in the 2nd century after the Buddha's death.
7. Lokottaravāda—ditto.

In addition to these 18, there occurred other sub-sects as follows :—

1. Siddhatthika.
2. Rājagirika—appeared towards the end of the 2nd century A.D.
3. Aparaśaila—ditto.
4. Pūrvaśaila—ditto.
5. Uttarāpathaka.
6. Vetulyaka or Śūnyatāvādins—not later than 2nd or 3rd century ∴.
7. Hemavatika (Haimavata).
8. Vājiriya.
9. Hetuvāda.
10. Vibhajyavāda—Ceylon.
11. Abhayagirivāsin—ditto.
12. Mahāvihāravāsin—ditto.
13. Dhammarucika.
14. Sāgalīya.

The relative antiquity of these sects is determined by evidence consisting of Ceylonese chronicles, Buddhaghosha's commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* and inscriptions. The date of the *Kathāvatthu* being still uncertain it will be safe to treat the sects referred to in it as of the 3rd century A.D. The sects of the *Kathāvatthu* are the Vetulyaka, Sāṁmitiya or Vātsīputrīya, Sarvāstivāda, Kāśyapīya, Mahāsāṅghika, Rājagirika, Uttarāpathaka, Hetuvādin, Bhadrayānika, Siddhātthika, Gokulika, Pubbaśeliya, Aparaśeliya and Mahīśāsaka. The Ceylonese chronicles place the 18 sects (of the orthodox and unorthodox schools) within a century after the Second Council. Inscriptional evidence is helpful. The Sāñchī and Bhārhut inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C. are free from reference to any Buddhist Sects. The Mathurā-Lion Capital (120 B.C.) is the earliest reference to the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Sarvāstivādins as two rival sects,[1] while subsequent frequent references to them are in records dated in the reigns of the Kushān Kings, Kaṇishka and Huvishka. A Sārnāth inscription (of fourth century A.D.) refers to the sect Sāṁmitīya as flourishing side by side with the Sarvāstivādins who had earlier ousted the Theravādin[2]. Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guṇṭur District, which were great centres of Buddhism in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., contain a number of records referring to other names such as Chaityakas, Śailas, Mahīśāsakas and Bahuśrutiyas. They do not take us to any date much earlier than the 1st and 2nd century

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 139-41, 146.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172, also D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, pp. 30-31.

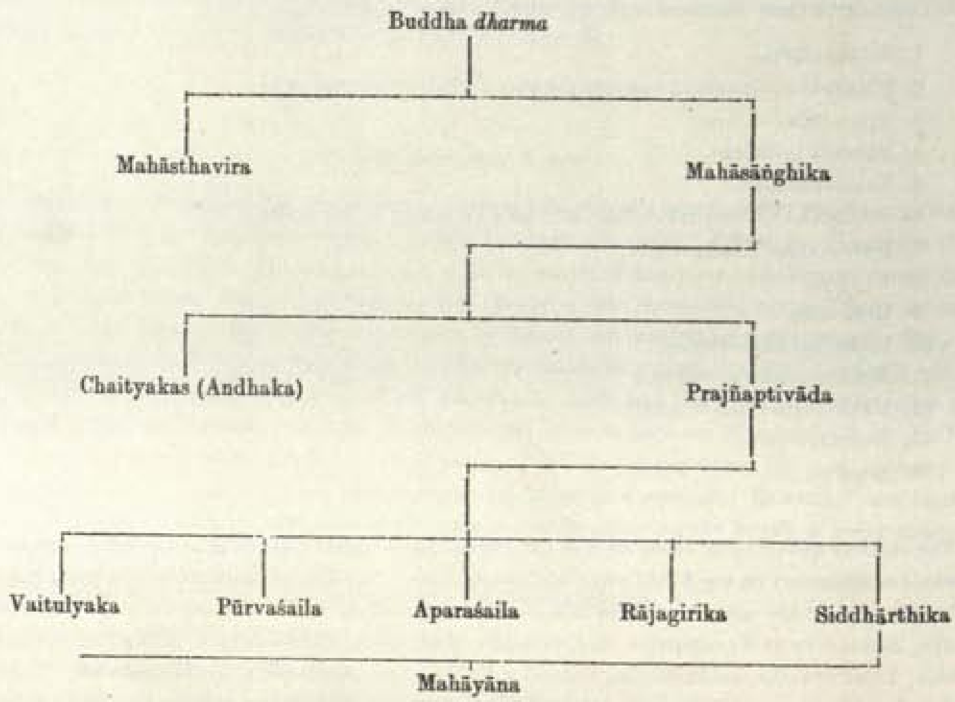
A.D. for the Śailas and a few other sects. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt has offered a satisfactory chronology for these sects, dividing them into 4 broad heads, which is offered below :—

1. Theravāda and Mahāsāṅghika.
2. Sarvāstivāda and Mahiśāsaka.
3. Bahuśrutīya, Chaityaka and Śaila Schools.
4. Sāṁmitīya.

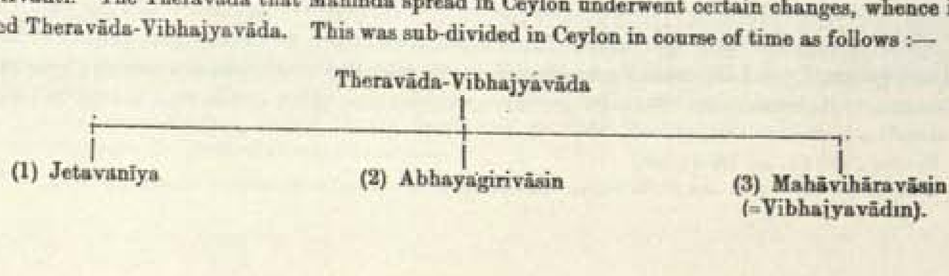
*Theravāda*

*The Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna.*—In its very early stage, Buddhism was confined to the Aryāvarta bounded by Vesāli and Champā on the east, Kauśāmbī and Avantī on the west, Śrāvastī and Mathurā on the north and Aṅga and Magadha on the south. The Second Buddhist Council which witnessed the split in the *saṅgha* was attended by monks hailing from this limited area who divided themselves as we saw above into 2 parties, the orthodox and the heterodox. The orthodox monks went towards the west and the latter preferred a march to the east. The former were called Theravādins (Sthaviravādins) and the latter came to be termed Mahāsāṅghikas. As the differences between these two grew wider, the former paved the way for the Hīnayāna and the latter for the Mahāyāna.

The following chart will help to understand the growth of the Mahāyāna :—




*Theravāda in Ceylon.*—The original home of both Theravādins and Mahāsāṅghikas was Pāṭalīputra and Magadha. But soon the Theravādins moved westwards and settled in Avantī and Kauśāmbī where they were comparatively free from the attacks of the unorthodox. From Ceylonese traditions we learn that they showed a general preference to Avantī and Kauśāmbī and that Mahinda, who spread Theravāda in Ceylon, was from Vidiśā in Avantī. The Theravāda that Mahinda spread in Ceylon underwent certain changes, whence it came to be called Theravāda-Vibhajyavāda. This was sub-divided in Ceylon in course of time as follows :—



The Mahāvihārins of Ceylon were not however pleased when they were called Theravādins but preferred to style themselves as Vibhajyavādins.[1]

The important branches of sub-sects of Theravāda are indicated in the tree below :—

Theravāda

(1) Mahīśāsaka (2) Sarvāstivāda (3) Dharmagupta (4) Sāṃmitīya (5) Sautrāntika (6) Vibhajyavāda

*Mahīśāsakas*

Theravādins who moved away from Magadha to Kauśāmbī and Avantī very soon got disunited giving room for sub-sects in their fold as the Mahīśāsaka, Sarvāstivāda, Dharmagupta, Sāṃmitīya and Sautrāntika. The Mahīśāsakas are of great interest to students of South Indian Buddhism for they formed the illustrious band of Theravādins who came down to the South and settled in Mahisha-maṇḍala (corresponding to Mysore) and Vanavāsi (North Kannaḍa). The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions refer to them too. By virtue of maintaining its rules and doctrines as close to the pristine Theravāda as possible the Mahīśāsaka established its claim to be considered as the oldest branch of the Theravāda. It is interesting to note that the patron saint of the Mahīśāsakas was Purāṇa of Dakkhiṇāgiri whose difference with Mahākassapa on the 7 rules in the First Council is well known. Fa-hien records that he saw the Vinaya of this school in Ceylon.

*Sarvāstivāda*, so called because of its doctrine "*Sarvam asti*" (everything is), was a very distinguished branch of the Theravāda moved north and settled in Kashmir, Gāndhāra and the country in and around Mathurā. Sanskrit was the language adopted for its *piṭakas*. It came to be known later on as *Vaibhāshika* because it had a rich literature of *Vibhāshās* or commentaries. The Kushān king Kaṇishka was its supporter which was responsible for its popularity in North India in general and in Kaṇishka's kingdom in particular. It extended upto Central Asia beyond the borders of India. It reached China too. Chinese monks carried its *tripiṭaka* to their home and translated it. Luckily this translation is preserved for us, compensating for the loss of the original. For some time this school was holding North India in its spell as we can glean from a galaxy of its adherents who were the most distinguished writers on Buddhism such as Vasubandhu, Vasumitra, Saṅghabhadra, Ghoshaka, Dharmatrātā and Buddhadeva. It received special attention at the hands of its opponents such as Nāgārjuna of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy, Vasubandhu, when he became a convert to Yogāchāra and Śaṅkarāchārya of Advaitism. And this was no doubt due to its popularity as the best expression of original Buddhism (Theravāda) which most of the monastic universities of the north had adopted as their own.

*Dharmagupta*.—A few Theravādins that adopted, like Sarvāstivādins, Sanskrit as their language trekked north and northeast till they settled and became popular in the land of Sogdians, Parthians, Central Asia and China. It is called Dharmagupta from its founder Dharmagupta whom Przyluski identifies with the Yonaka monk Dhammarakkhita sent to the North West Frontiers by Moggaliputta Tissa. According to Dr. N. Dutt the disciplinary rules of this school attracted the Sogdians and Parthians while its *Vinaya* was actually used in the monasteries of China.[2]

*Sāṁmitīya*, (same as Vātsīputrīyas =Vajjiputtakas) another branch of Theravāda. It is also called Āvantika as it came from Avantī. The Sārnāth inscription of 300 A.D. refers to its existence at Sārnāth[3]. I-tsing says that this school was popular in Lāṭa and Sindhu and had a few followers in Magadha, Eastern India and South India.

[1] According to Dr. N. Dutt a similar preference towards such a distinction is noticed in two other schools, *viz.*, Bahuśrutīya-vibhajyavāda, the same as Prajñaptivāda, and the Sarvāstivāda-vibhajyavāda. *vide* Dr. N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 196.

[2] De Groot, *La Code du Mahayanaen China*, p. 3.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172.

*Sautrāntika.*—Buddhaghosha refers to this branch along with Kāśyapīya, Haimavata and the sects of Theravāda not dealt with so far, under the collective name *Uttarāpathakas*. Their house was obviously in North India, a view supported by literary references to the rivalry between the Sautrāntikas and the Vaibhāshikas (a later name given to the Sarvāstivādins). It appears that the Sautrāntika lived by the side of the Vaibhāshika in North India, and " had no particular local habitation "

*Mahāsāṅghika*

The home of the Mahāsāṅghika was Magadha with centres at Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra and branches localised in and around Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Āndhra-deśa. The combined evidence furnished by Fa-hien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing would show that the stronghold of the Mahāsāṅghikas was Magadha, with a few adherents in North and South India. This is borne out by the Karle cave in Bombay State,[1] and the *stūpa* at Khawat in Afghanistan being dedicated to Mahāsāṅghika teachers.[2]

The *Śaila* or Hill schools, by which the Pūrvaśaila, Aparaśaila, Uttaraśaila and Chaityaka were meant were local branches of the Mahāsāṅghika. The Śailas from which the particular branches derived their names are in and around Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The name *Chaityaka* is due to the *Chaitya* or *Mahāchaitya* erected at Amarāvatī. By the *Mahāchaitya* the big *stūpa* of Amarāvatī whose sculptures have enriched the Madras Museum, the Indian Museum, Calcutta and the British Museum, London, is no doubt meant.

Along with the Śaila schools were the *Lokottaravādins* whose cult was the deification of the Buddha and to whom the Buddha was not only supra-mundane but also made of pure (*anāsrava*) *dharmas*.

*Difference between the Sects*

*In discipline*

We have no authentic information governing discipline and rules that distinguished one sect from the other. In the Third Council, some sects refused to hold the *Pātimokkha* assembly together, as some monks of a sect were considered *unclean* according to the rigid standard of another sect. In the First Council Mahākassapa and Purāṇa of Dakkhiṇāgiri differed on the 7 rules. These rules were actually incorporated in the *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsaka and Dharmagupta. The Mahāsāṅghikas and the Theravādins differed on the 10 points. To the Sarvāstivādins differences in disciplinary rules were no less important than "differences in doctrinal matters". The Sāmmitīyas had rules regulating use of undergarment, girdles, medicines and beds. On this the following interesting information is furnished by I-tsing. " There are small points of difference such as where the skirt of the lower garments is cut straight in one, and irregular in another, and the folds of the upper robe are, in size narrow in one and wide in another. The Sarvāstivādins cut the skirt of the lower garment straight while the other three (Mahāsāṅghika, Sthavira, Sāmmitīya) cut it of irregular shape. The same school ordains separate rooms in lodgings, while the Sāmmitīyas allow separate beds in an enclosure made by ropes. The Sarvāstivādins receive food directly into the hand but the Mahāsāṅghikas mark a place on which to place the food ".

These minor points were not minor to the monks. Even now such controversies over the Buddha's dress rage among the *Bhikshus* of Chittagong, Burma and Ceylon.

*In doctrine*

The *Kathāvatthu* and Vasumitra's work deal with differences in doctrine between some sects only ; and even in doctrine many trifling matters of psychology have been noticed. Some sects had no doctrinal differences at all but only disciplinary. The most important difference in doctrine is in the definition of the *Buddha* and the *Bodhisattva*. The Theravādin including Mahīśāsakas, Sarvāstivādins and Uttarāpathakas defined a Bodhisattva as a previous life of Gautama Buddha, and as one devoid of superior or superhuman qualities. According to them the Buddha was just a human being with all human weaknesses and ills, which he can possibly overcome by his Yogic powers, and by his own individual exertion realise the truth and attain *Full Knowledge*. The

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 64, 71.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 211.

goal (*mukti*) was the same in *Śrāvakayāna* and *Buddhayāna* though the methods of approach may be varied. The Sarvāstivādins and the Uttarāpathakas held the same views as the rest of the Theravādins with however the difference that to them the Buddha was above *maitrī* and *karuṇā*.

The Mahāsāṅghika and the branches of this school hold that the Bodhisattva is not born of parents, has no course through a mother's womb (*jananījaṭhare śayanam*) and is not only self-born but can take birth in any form of existence. To them the Buddha is transcendental, *lokottara* or supra-mundane with unlimited body, length of life and supernatural powers. He is made of pure *dharmas* and during his transcendental advent into the world it is his created body that one beholds.

In Theravāda and its sub-sects an *Arhat* is emancipated (*mukta*) and has attained *Nirvāṇa*, can never be impure, or doubtful about the *Tri-ratna* or ignorant of the Supreme Truth, can never go back from Arhathood which marks the final stage of *Śrāvakayāna*, and can never become a victim of temptation, and being above things good or bad, can never acquire merit.

To the Sarvāstivādins, *Arhats* are of two classes (1) those that possess knowledge of one's own *dharmas* (*svadharmakuśala*) and (2) those that know one's own as well as others' *dharmas* (*paradharmakuśala*). The first class acquire merit, know that their impurities are annihilated (*kshaya*) and never fall back from Arhathood. They share with the Śaila schools the view that *Arhats* are subject to the effects of past *karma* (of former lives).

The Mahāsāṅghikas and their sub-sects held in general that no *Arhat* goes back from his Arhathood, while a particular sect that followed Mahādeva maintained that an *Arhat* gains knowledge with other's help, is subject to temptation and can have doubts and ignorance on some matters.

The Theravādins and a sect of the Mahāsāṅghika believe that it is the *vijñāna* of the sense organs that perceives. The Sarvāstivādin and the Śaila schools hold that the sense organs by themselves perceive.

Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Mahāsāṅghikas maintain that realization of the four stages of sanctification may take place all at once, while to the Sarvāstivādins and Sāṁmitīyas such a realisation is gradual, with a likeli hood of the second and third stages occurring simultaneously.

Other doctrinal points on which the various sects had subtle differences of definite interest to students of philosophy and metaphysics than to students of art are :

1. *Asaṁskṛitas.*[1]
2. *Antarābhava* or the conception of temporary existence of a being after death and before rebirth, which was unknown to Theravāda but found in the Sarvāstivāda, Sāṁmitīyā and other schools.
3. The Reals.[2]
4. The meaning of the doctrine " *Sarvam asti* " on which the differences exist among the Sarvāstivādin teachers themselves such as Dharmatrātā, Ghoshaka, Vasumitra, Buddhadeva and Vasubandhu.
5. *Pudgala* or self, personality. The Sāṁmitīyas, and Sautrāntikas hold that there is a *pudgala*, a term undefinable but standing for a personality besides the five elements (*skandhas*) composing a being. It is not momentary, changes with the *skandhas* and disappears when the *skandhas* disappear in *nirvāṇa*. It is neither a constituted nor an unconstituted component of a being but is something that " persists through the several existences of a being till it reaches *nirvāṇa* ". The Sautrāntikas believe in the continued existence of the subtle *Chitta* or *bīja* or *vāsanā* and in the doctrine of the transference of *Skandhamātra* from one existence to another, " for which reason they are identified with the Saṁkrāntivādins".[3]

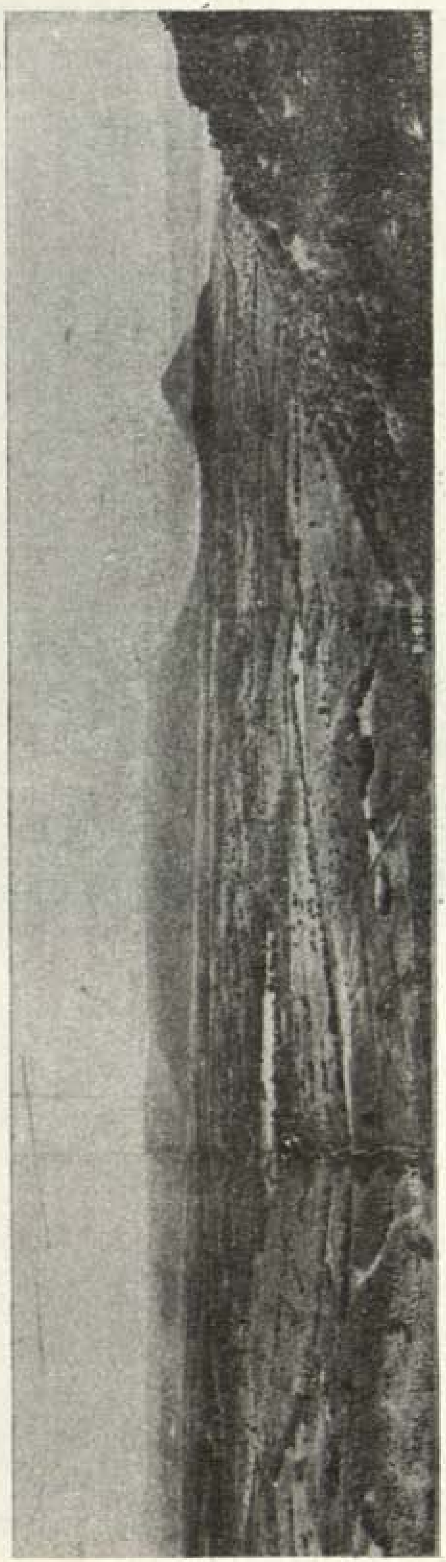
[1] N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects, a survey*, p. 290.

[2] For a list see N. Dutt, *EMB*, Vol. II, pp. 141-2.

[3] Dr. N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects*, a survey, p. 292 f.

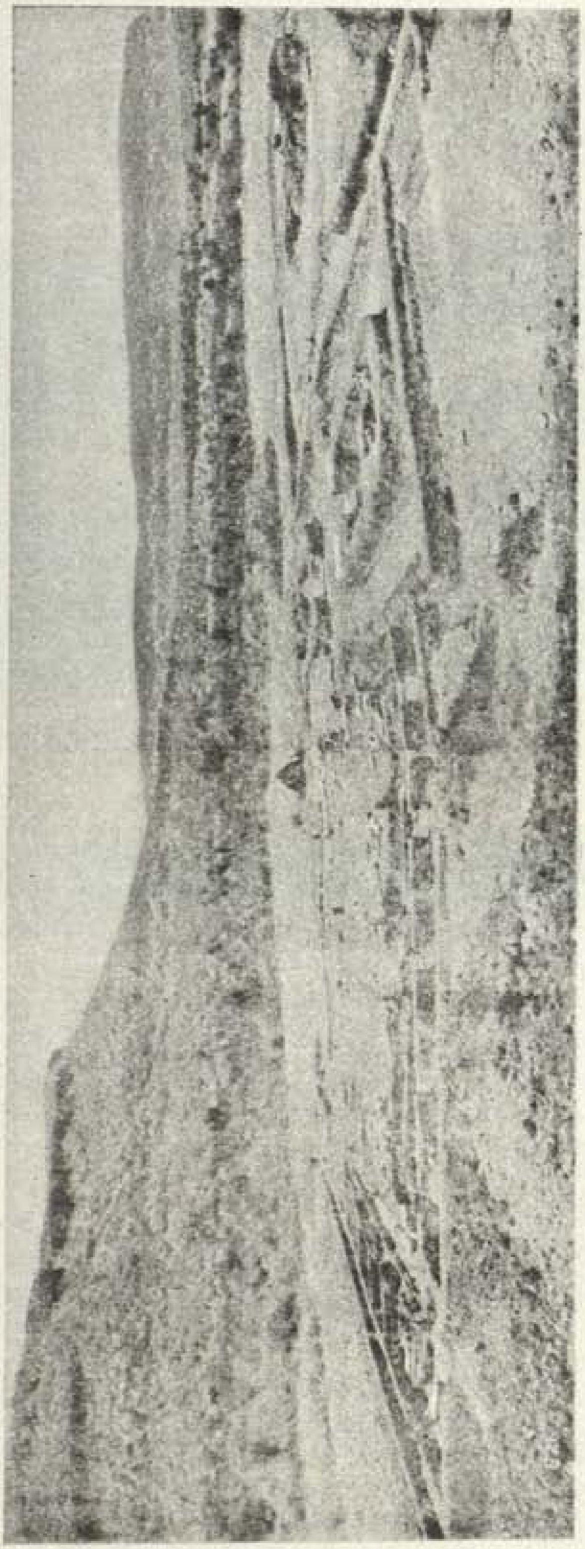
# INDEX

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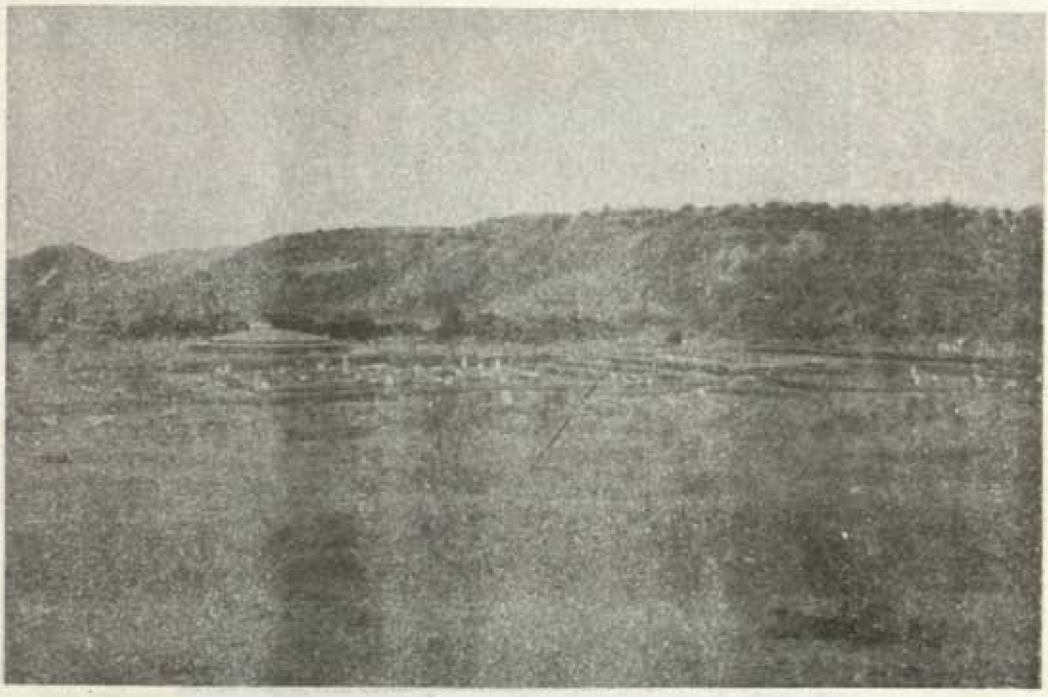


GENERAL VIEW OF THE VALLEY, NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA

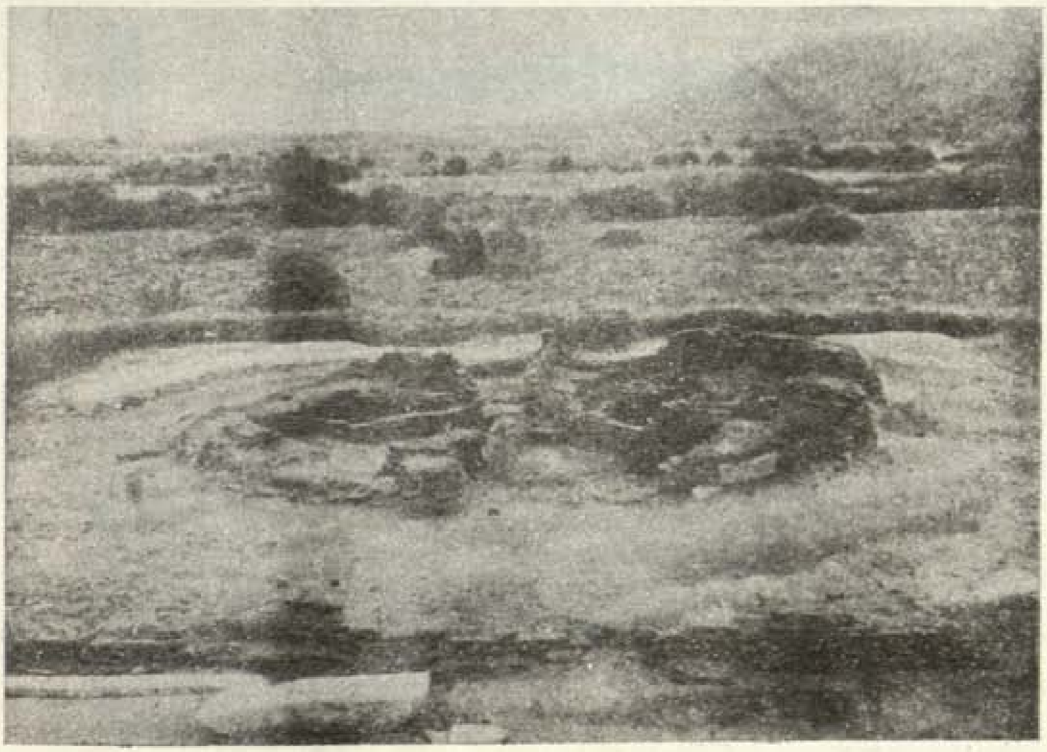
Plate II



General view of Site 6



A. GENERAL VIEW OF SITES 5 AND 6



B. SITE 6 — STŪPA (A IN PLAN)



A. Sujātā feeding the Buddha



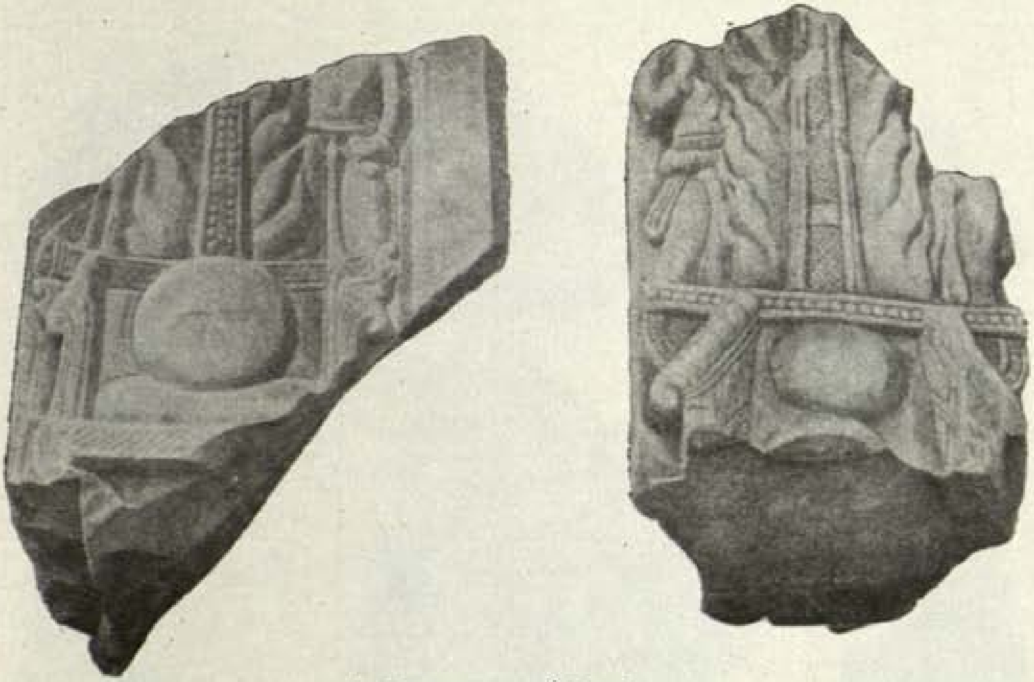
B. Trapusha and Bhallika visiting the Buddha



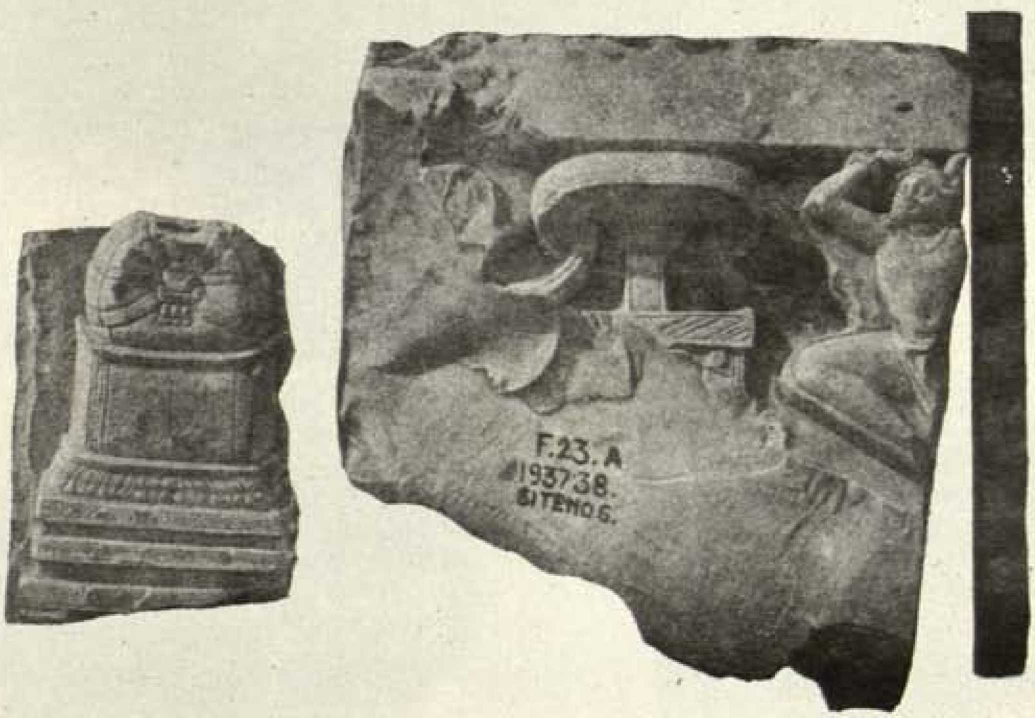
1. A SAGE. 2. PRATYEKA BUDDHAS AND NANDAMŪLA HILL



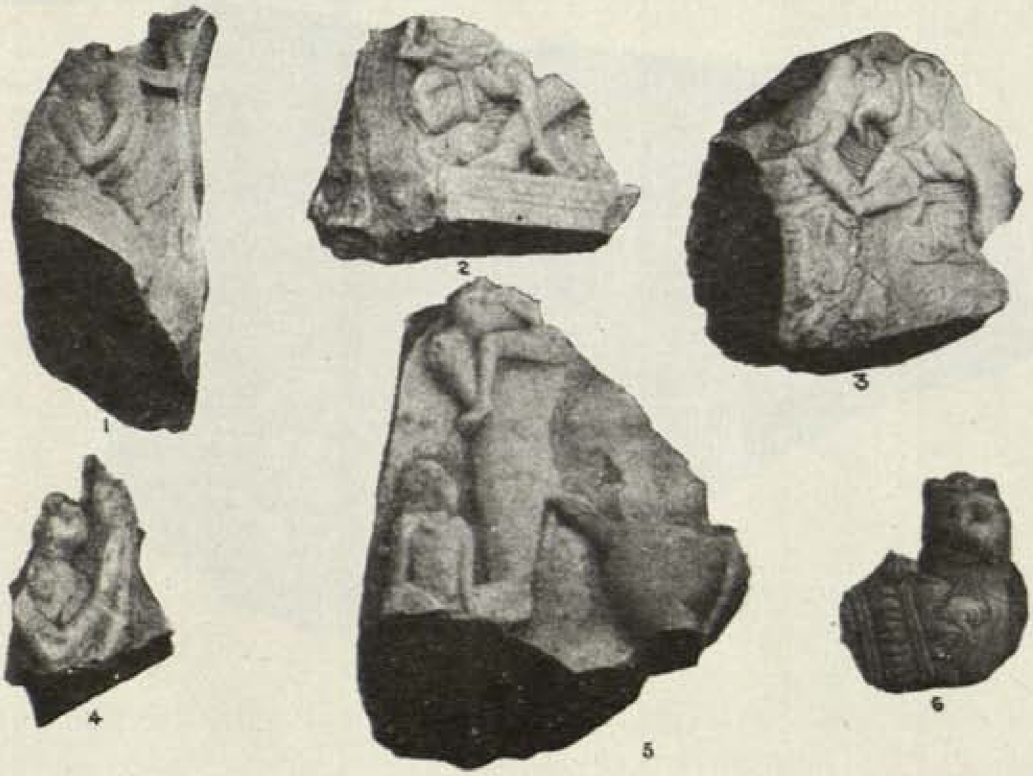
3. BUDDHA AND VAJRAPĀṆI FROM STŪPA, SITE 6



A. THE MIRACLE OF ŚRĀVASTĪ




B. CHAITYA SLABS



A. Carvings from Site 6



1 B 2

1. Sujātā and the Buddha. 2. A prince perhaps Siddhārtha

Plate VIII

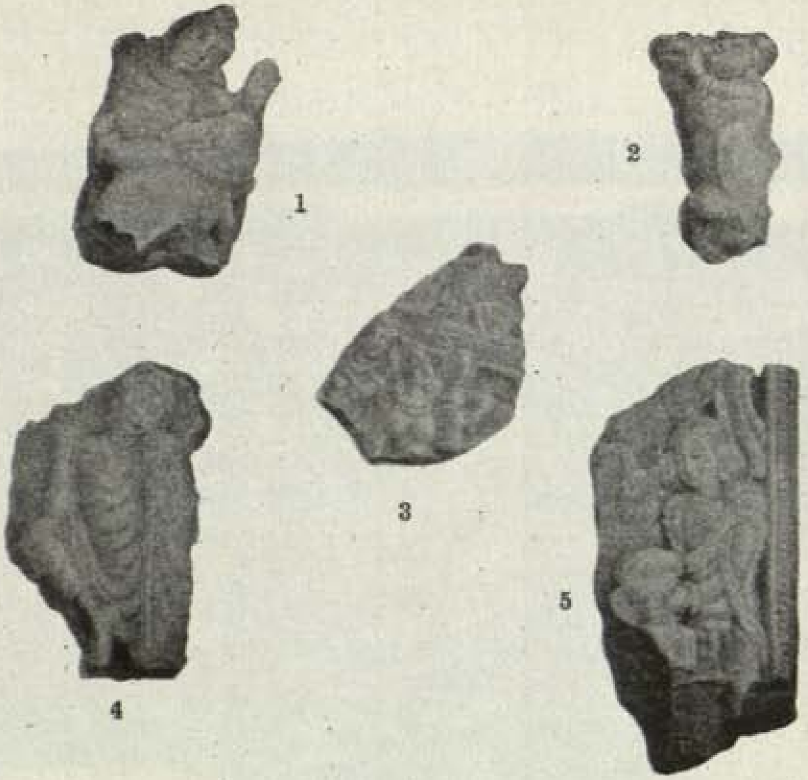


A. Nāgarāja



B. Battle scene

PLATE IX




A




B

A-B. FRAGMENTS OF CARVINGS FROM SITES 5 AND 6

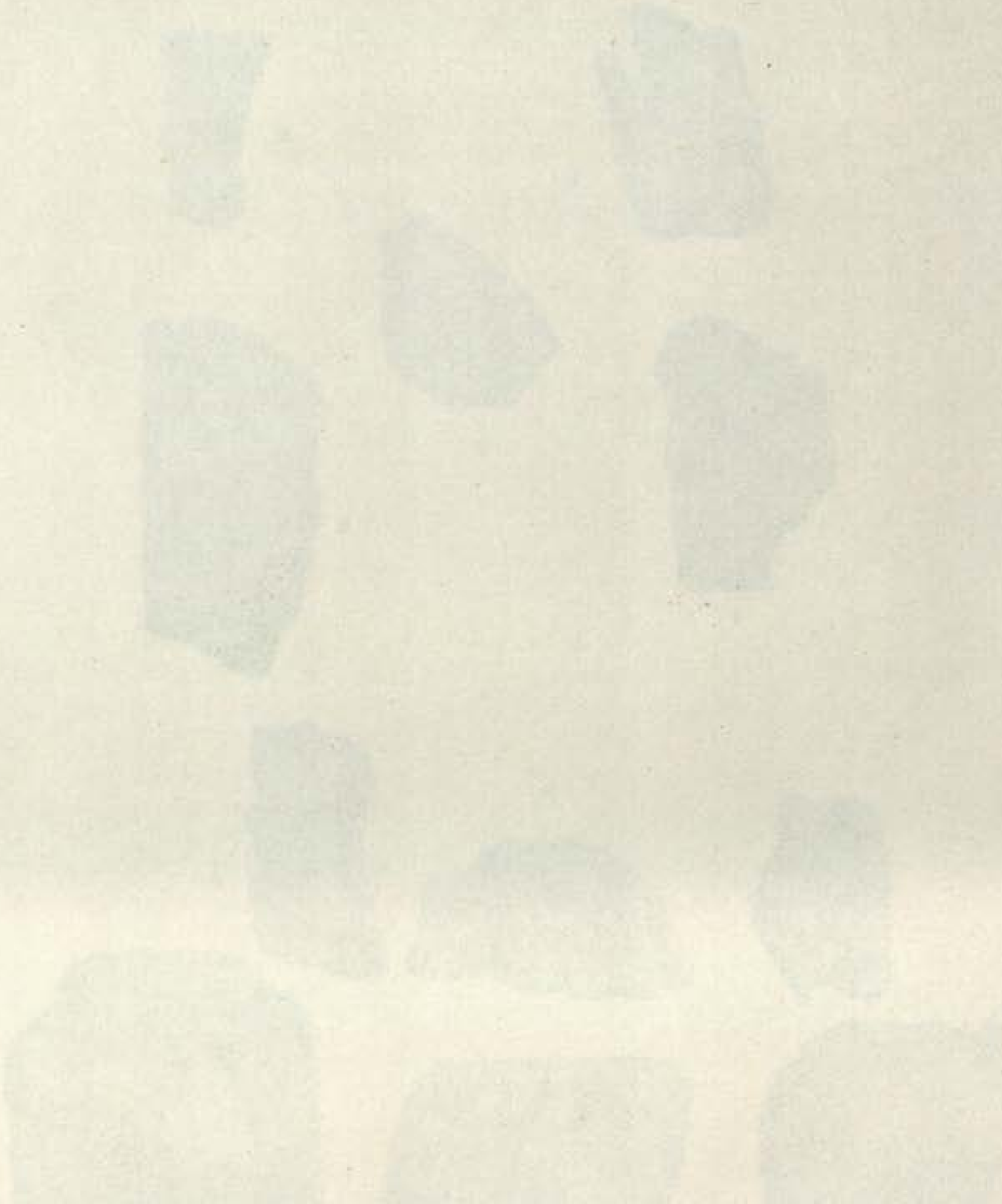
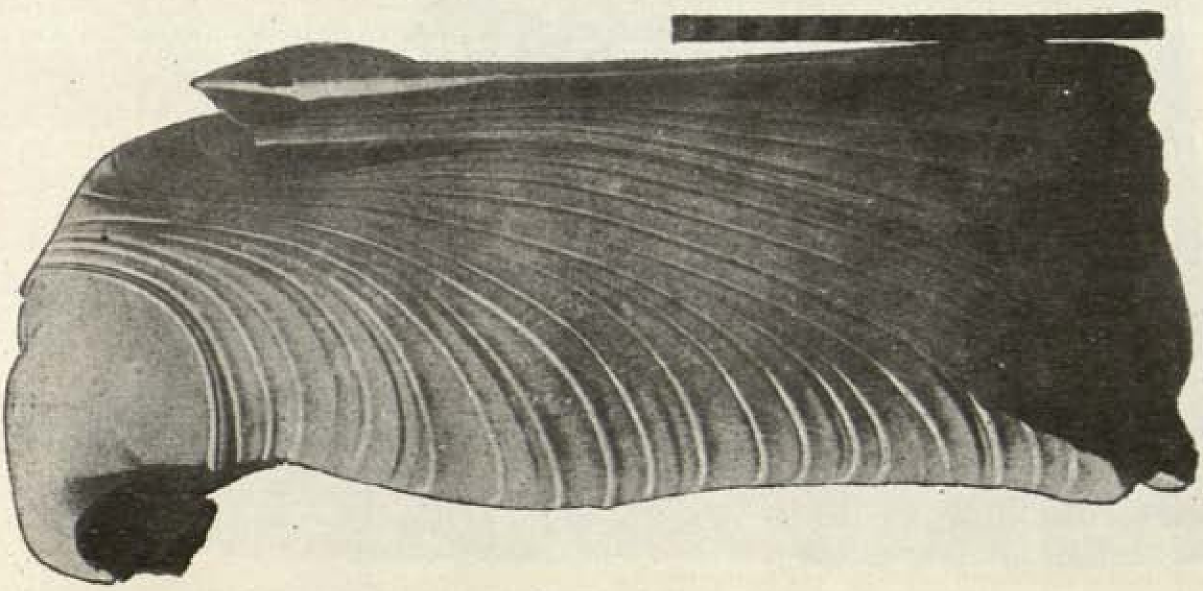


PLATE X



A. Torso of the Buddha statue from Buddha-Chaitya, Site 6



B. Trayastriṁśa heaven, Site 6

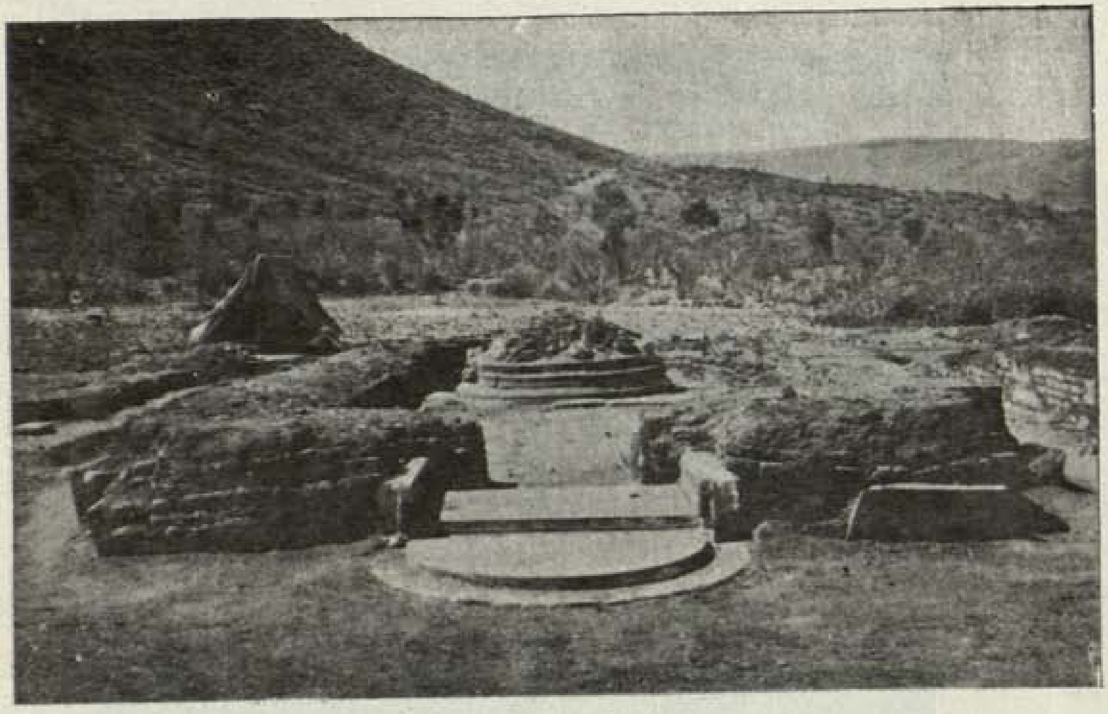
PLATE XI



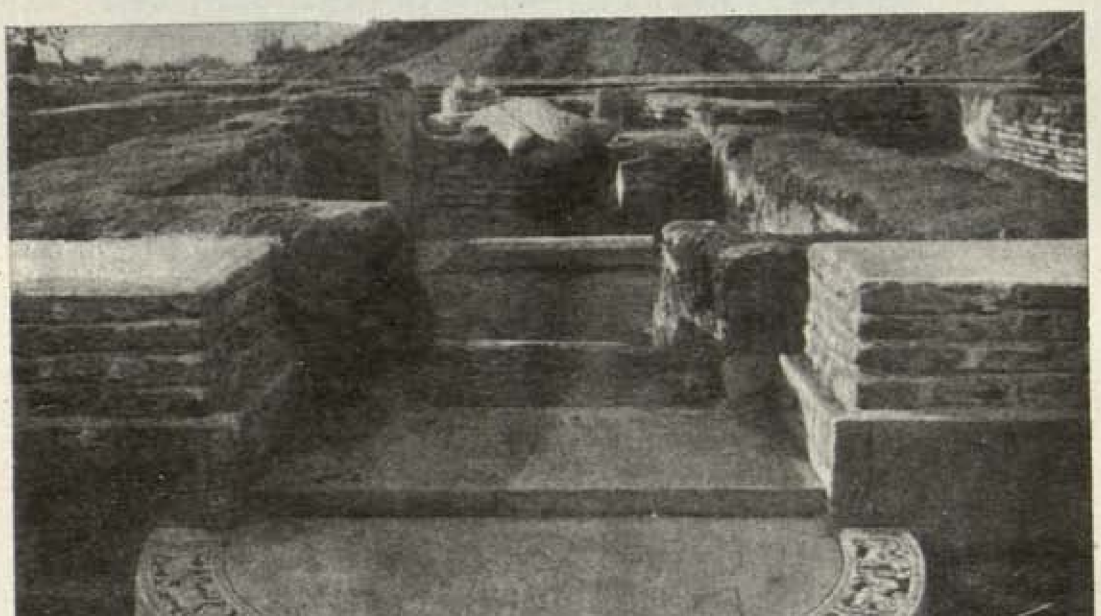
A. Fragments of heads, Site 6



B. Carving from the dome of the Stūpa, Site 6



A. STŪPA-CHAITYA, SITE 6



B. BUDDHA-CHAITYA, SITE 6

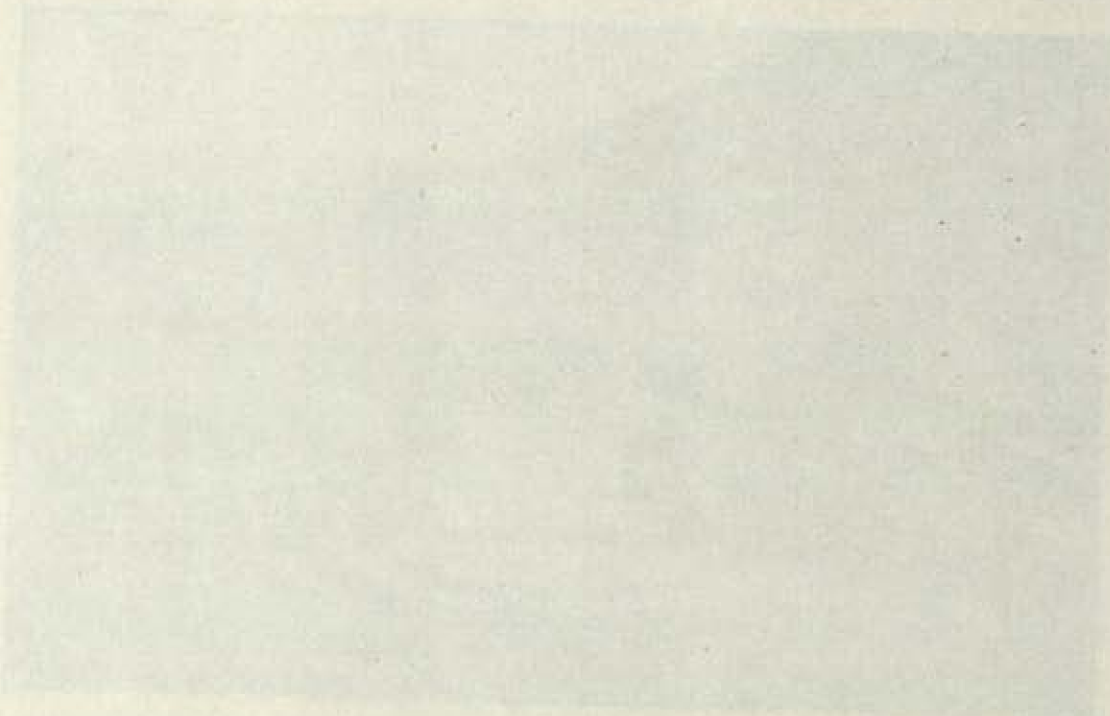




PLATE XIII



A



B



C



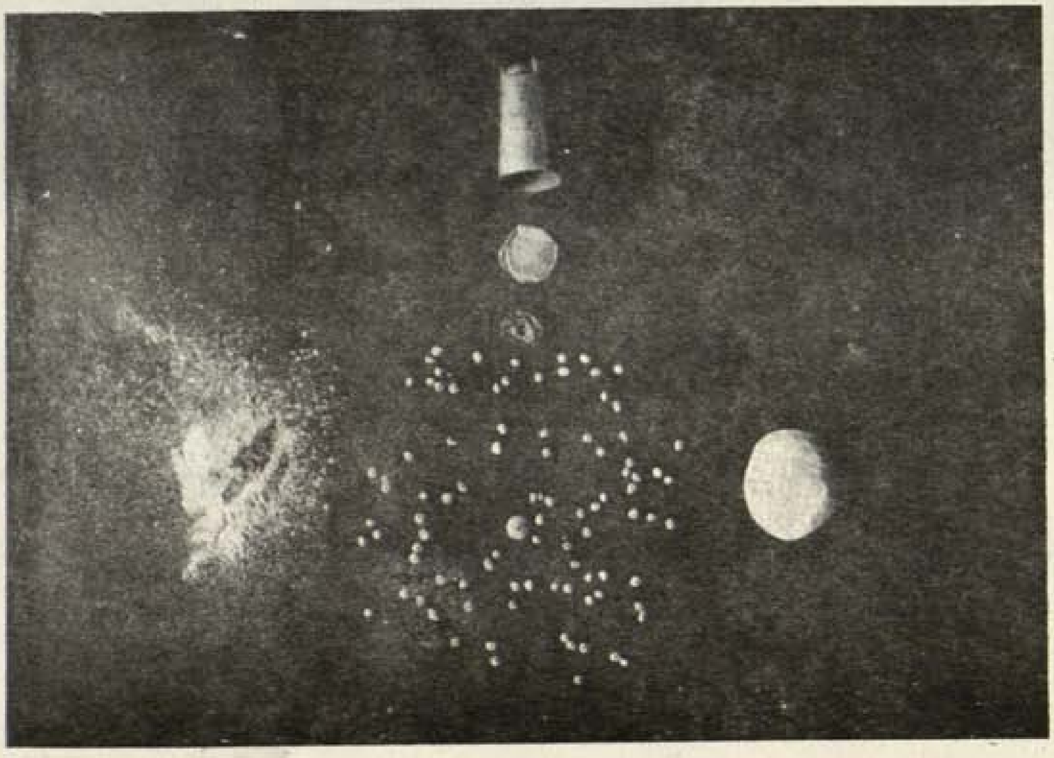
D

A. POTTERY FINIAL FROM THE ROOF OF THE STŪPA-CHAITYA, SITE 6
B. THE FIRST SERMON, SITE 5

C. ADDORSED WINGED LIONS OVER PURṆAGHAṬA, SITE 5
D. THE MIRACLE OF ŚRĀVASTĪ, SITE 5

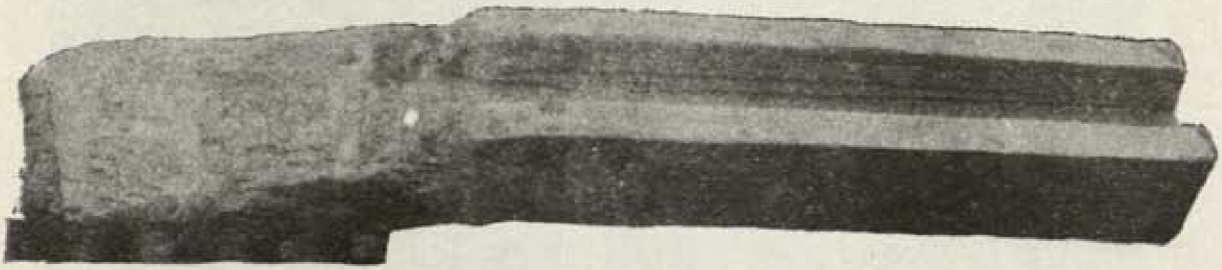


A. Buddha's feet, Buddha-Chaitya



B. Ash, pearls and gold tube from Buddha's feet, Buddha-Chaitya

PLATE XV



A. WATER SPOUT, SITE, 6



B. BUDDHA'S HEAD, MATRIX, CORNER-BRICKS AND TILE BRICKS FROM SITES 2 AND 6



A

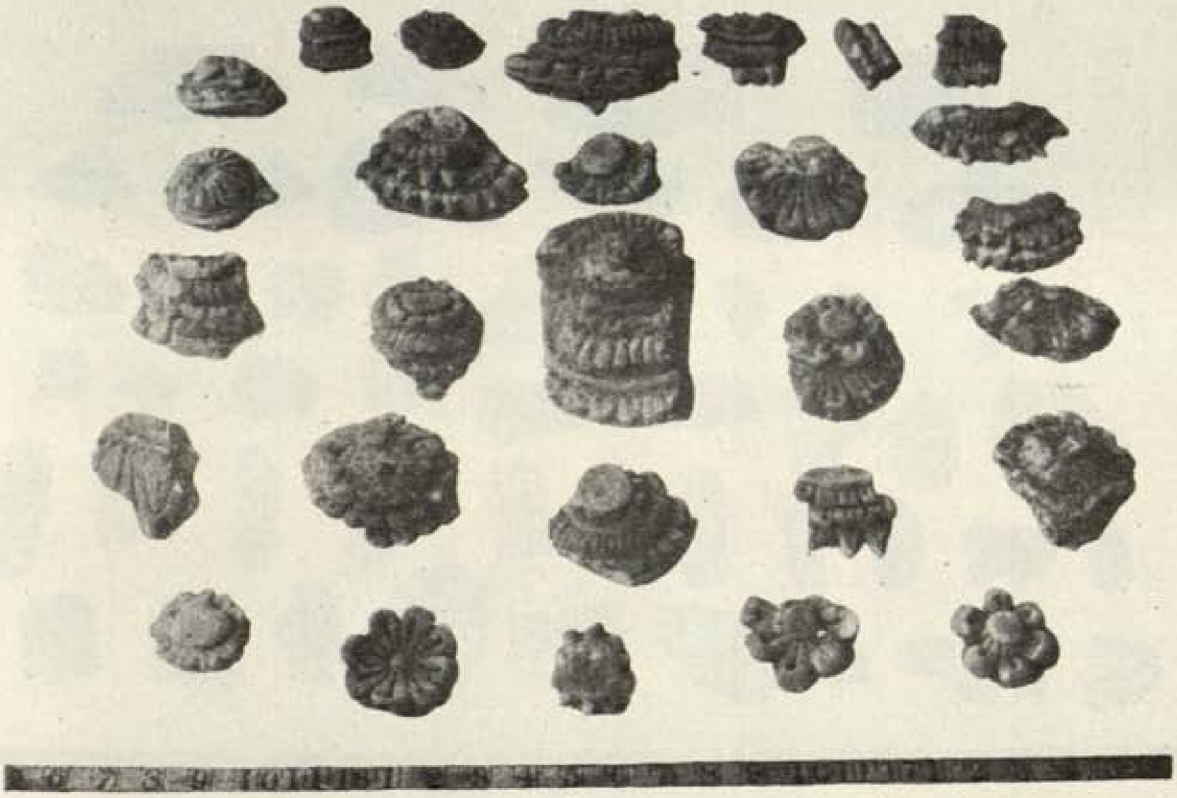


B

A CARVED COPING SLAB (OBVERSE AND REVERSE) FROM CHAITYA ENCLOSURE, SITE 6

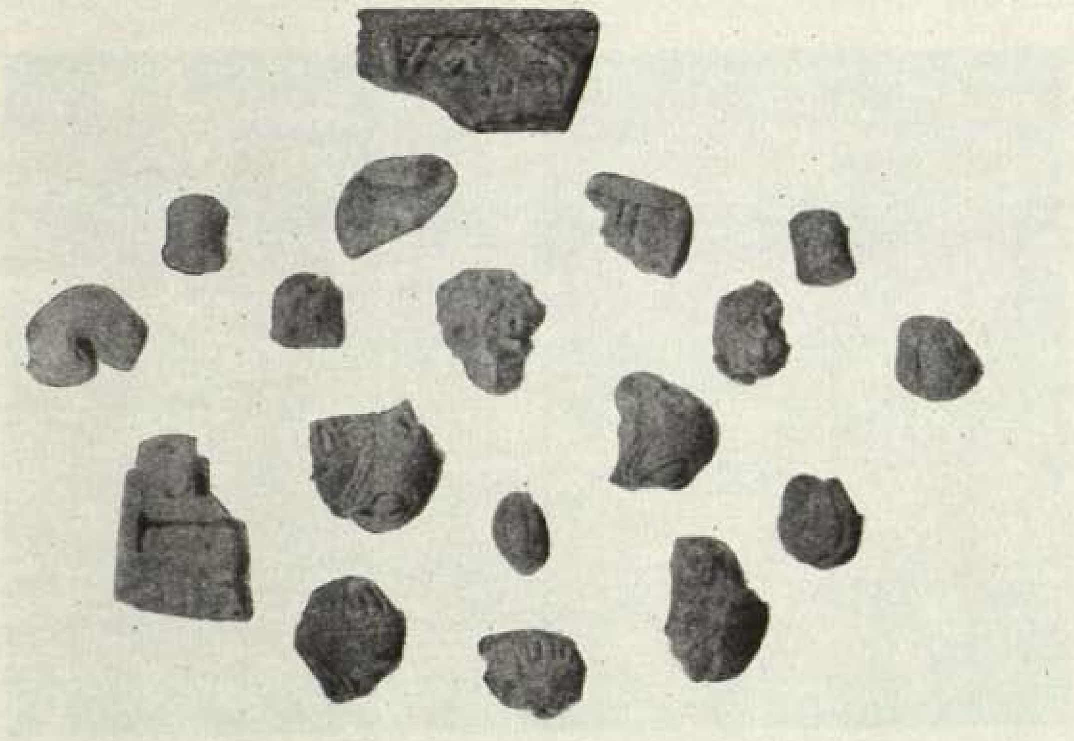


A



B

STUCCO DECORATIONS, SITE 6

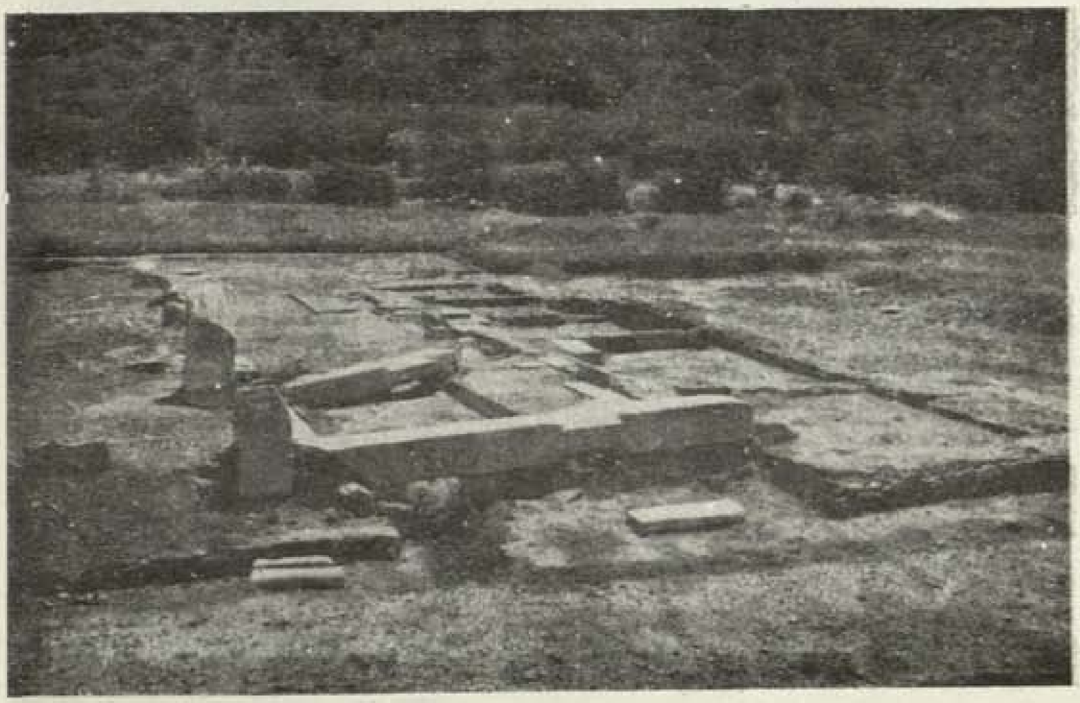


A

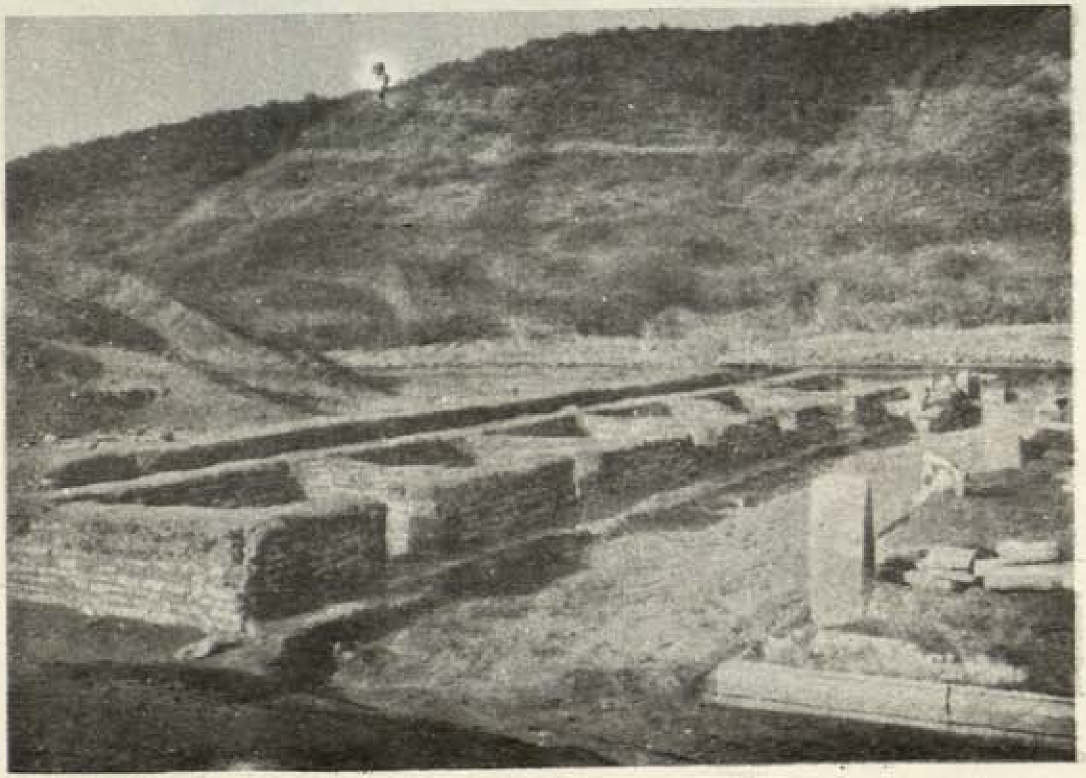


B

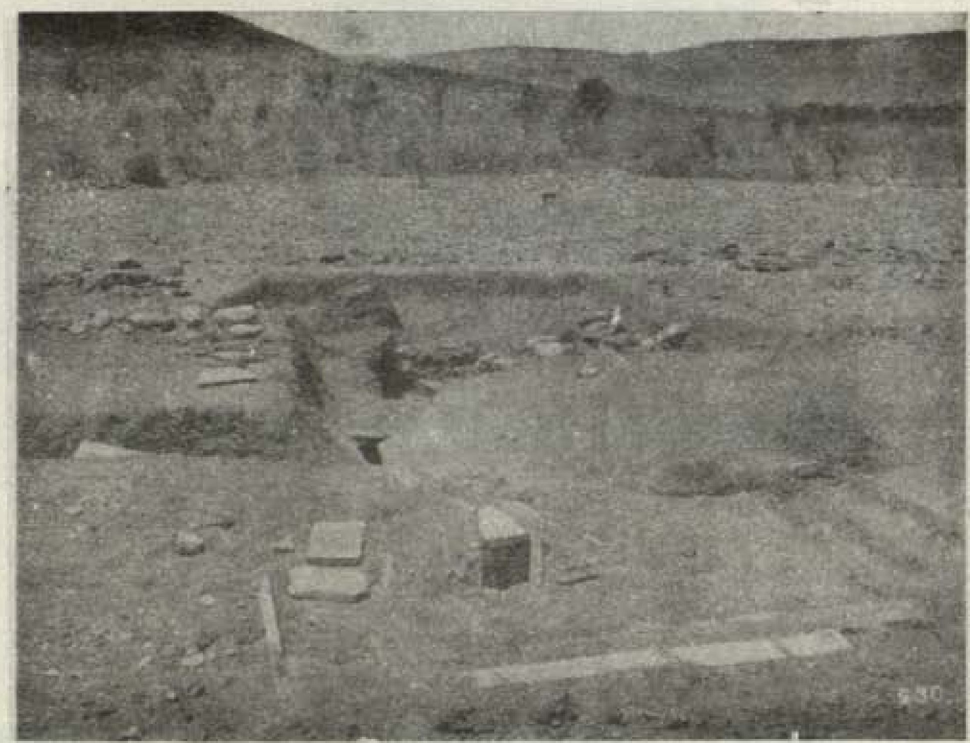
STUÇCO DECORATIONS, SITE 6



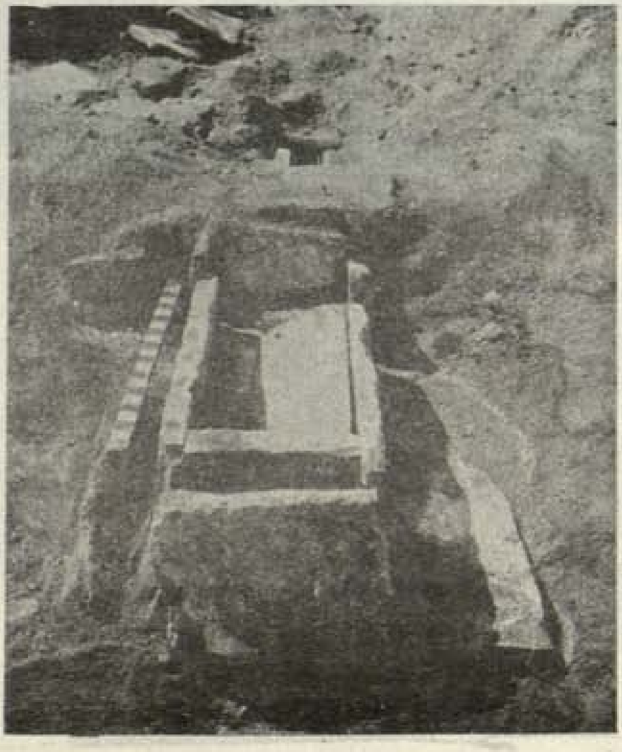
A. MONASTERY, SOUTHERN WING, SITE 6



B. NORTH WING OF CELLS, MONASTERY, SITE 6

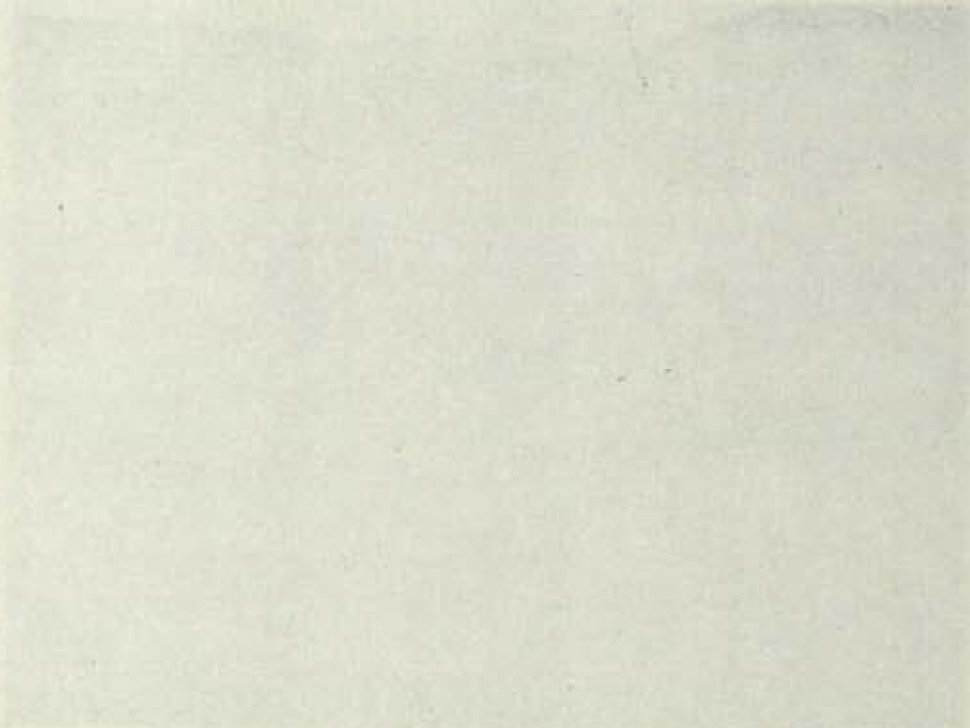


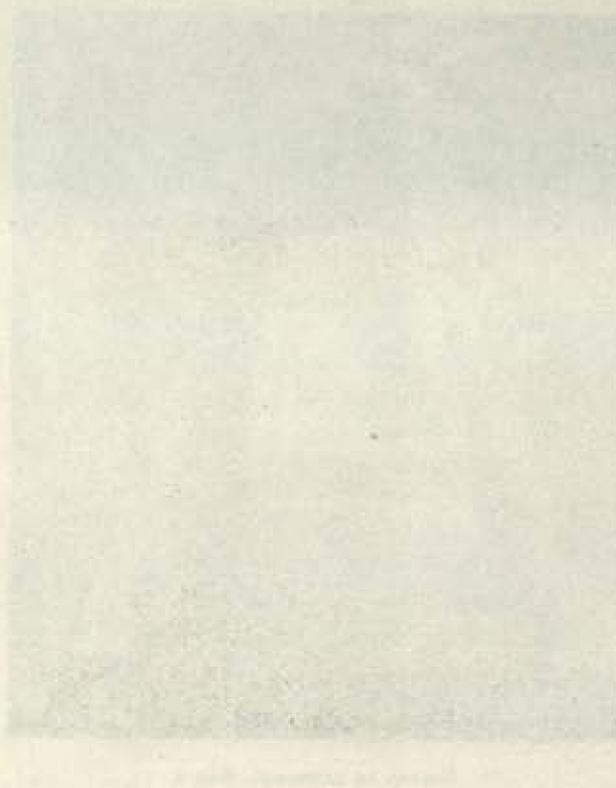
A. BATHROOM, SOUTHERN WING OF MONASTERY, SITE 6



B. URINAL IN BATHROOM, SITE 6

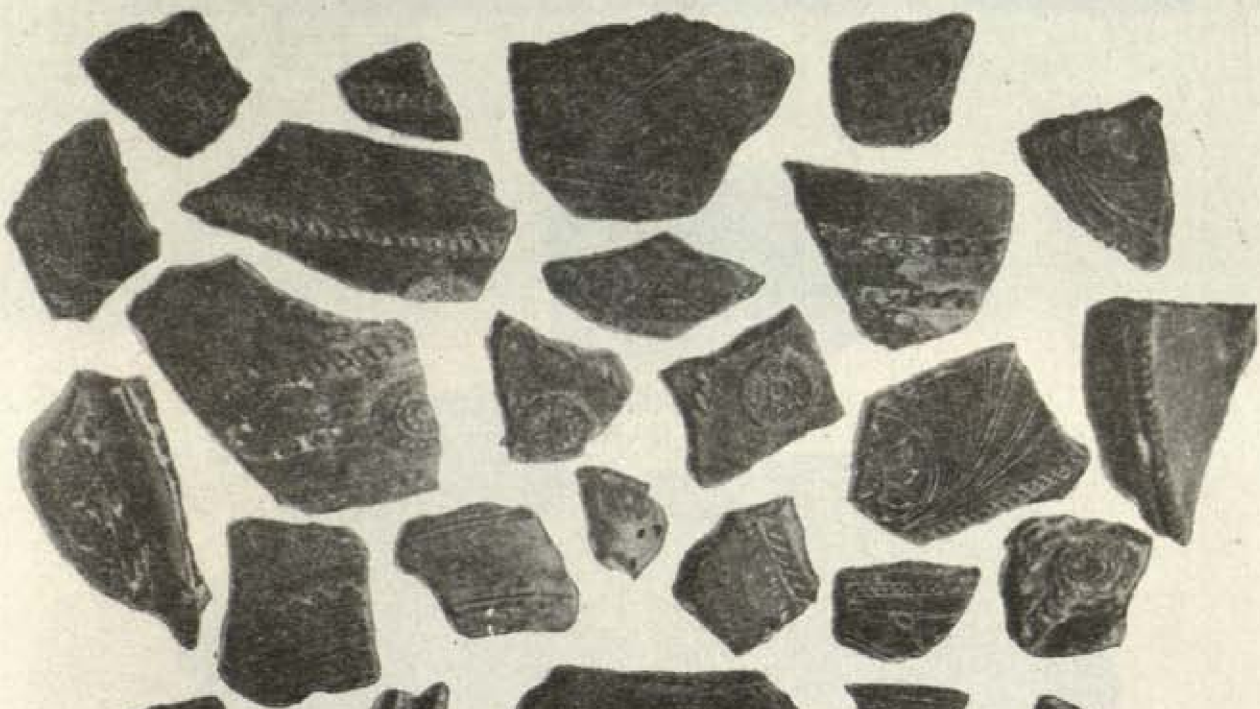
Plate XX








A



B

A-B. POTTERY AND POTSHERDS FROM MONASTERY, SITES 2 AND 6



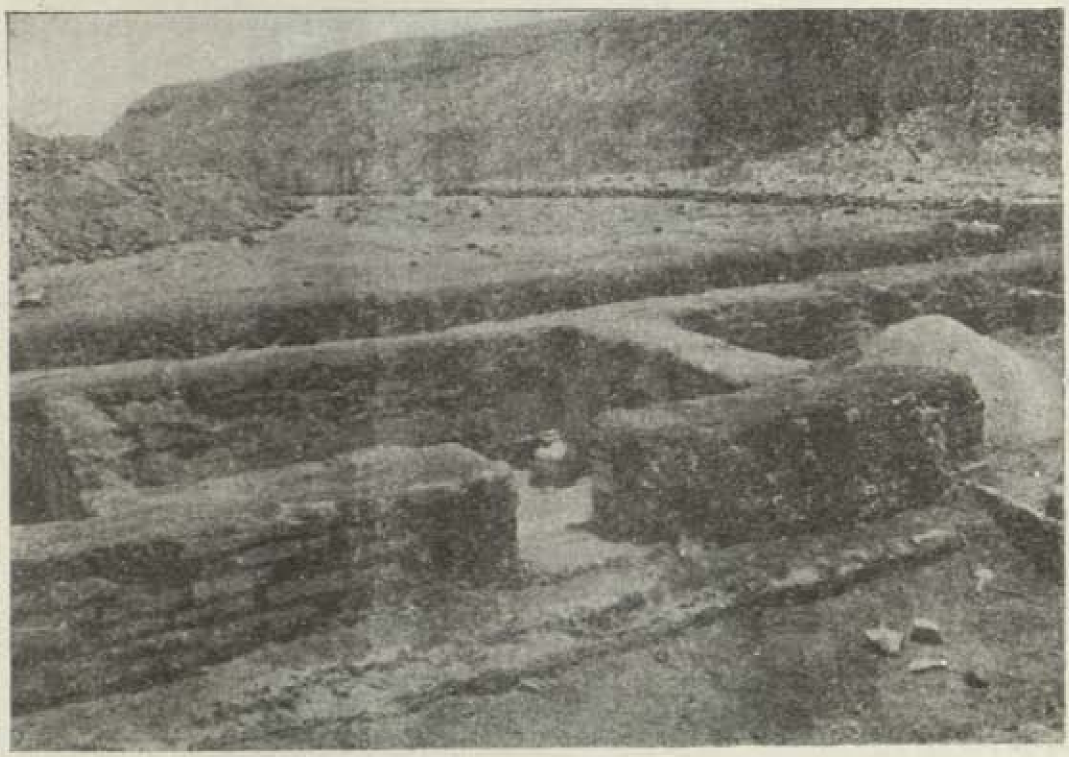
A. SPOUTED VESSELS AND TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM ROOM F, SITES 2 AND 6



B. POTTERY, SITES 2 AND 6



C. POTSHERDS WITH DESIGNS, SITE 6



A. CELL 1, NORTHERN WING OF MONASTERY, SITE 6

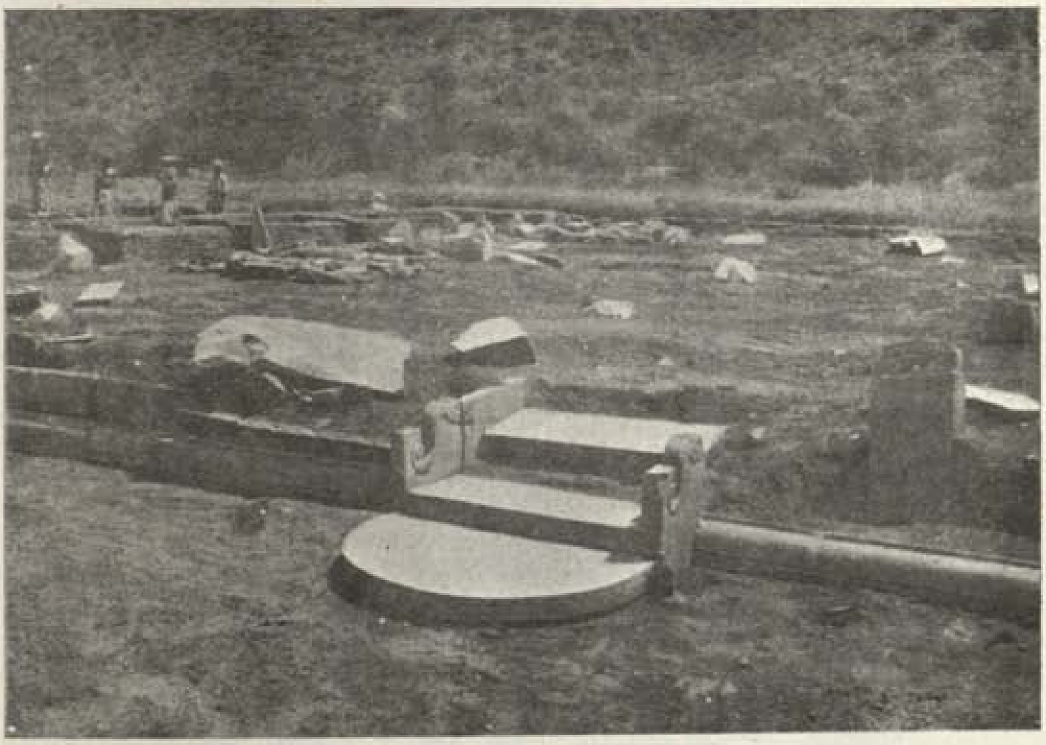


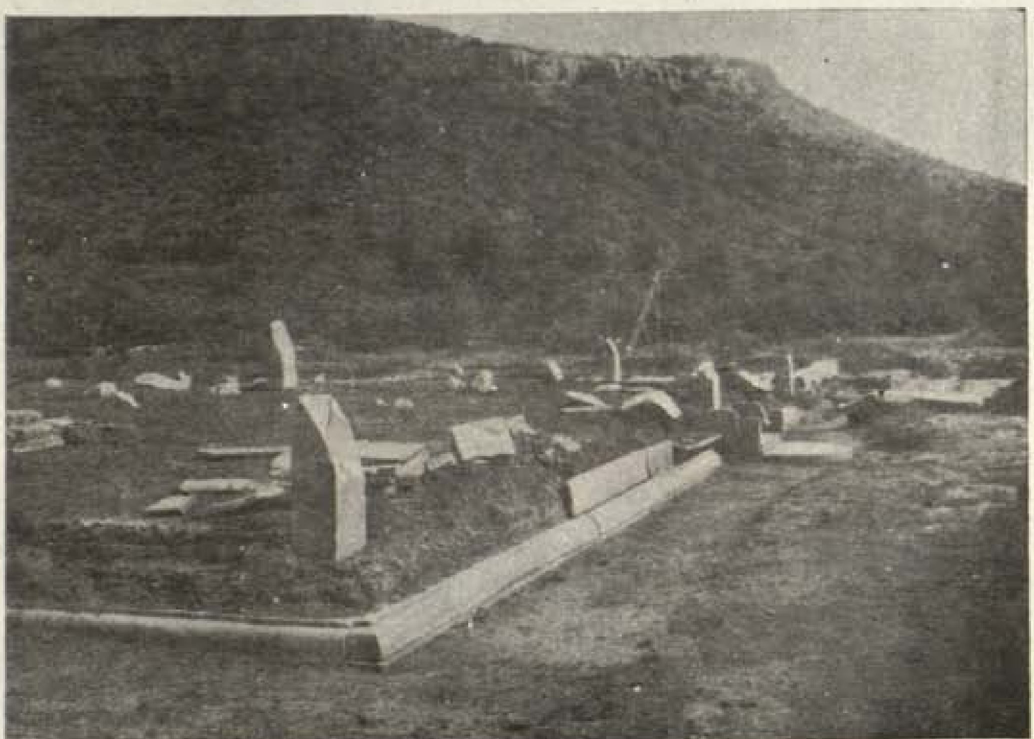
B. LIMESTONE PŪRṆAGHAṬA IN CELL 1, SITE 6



A. PŪRṆAGHAṬA, (ASSEMBLED) WITH TOOTH RELICS, CELL 1, NORTHERN WING OF MONASTERY, SITE 6







Two views of Maṇḍapa, Site 6



A. PIECES OF HUMAN BONES ETC., SITE 2



B. TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM ROOM F, SITE 6





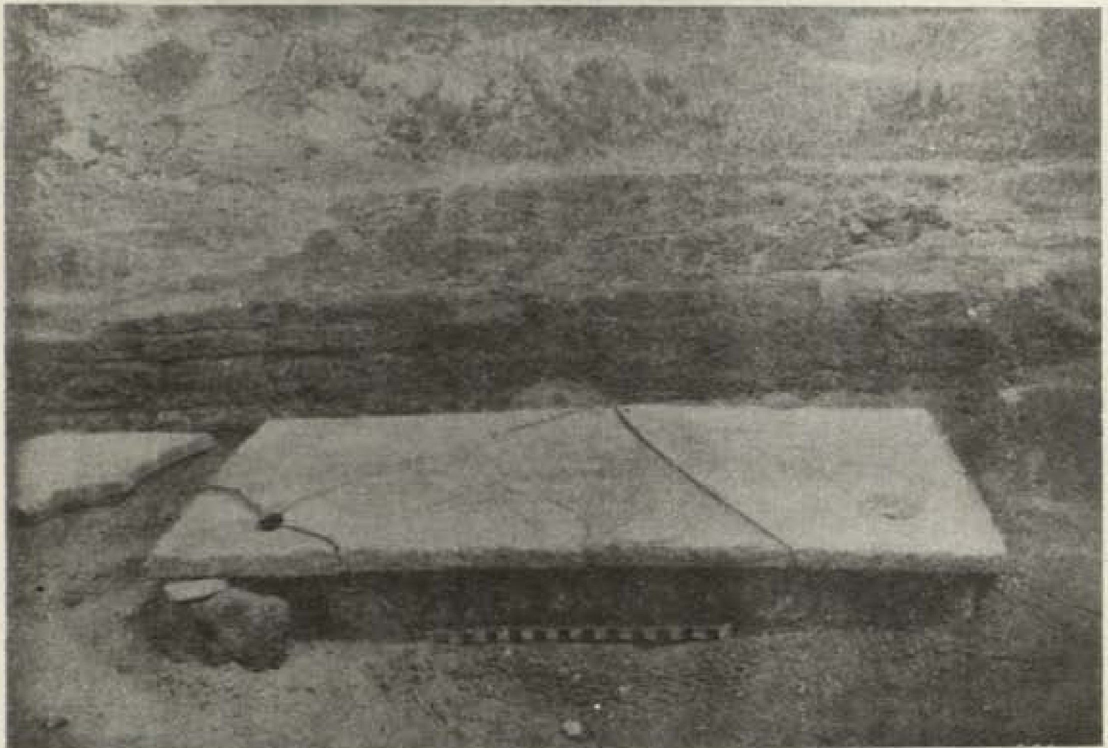
A. CROSSBAR FROM WORKSHOP, SITE 6



B. UPRIGHT SLABS, WORKSHOP, SITE 6



Bracket end of frieze with the outline sketch of a Śālabhañjikī,
from Workshop, Site 6



A. Foreman's seat, Workshop, Site 6



B. Mandapa to the north of Site 6



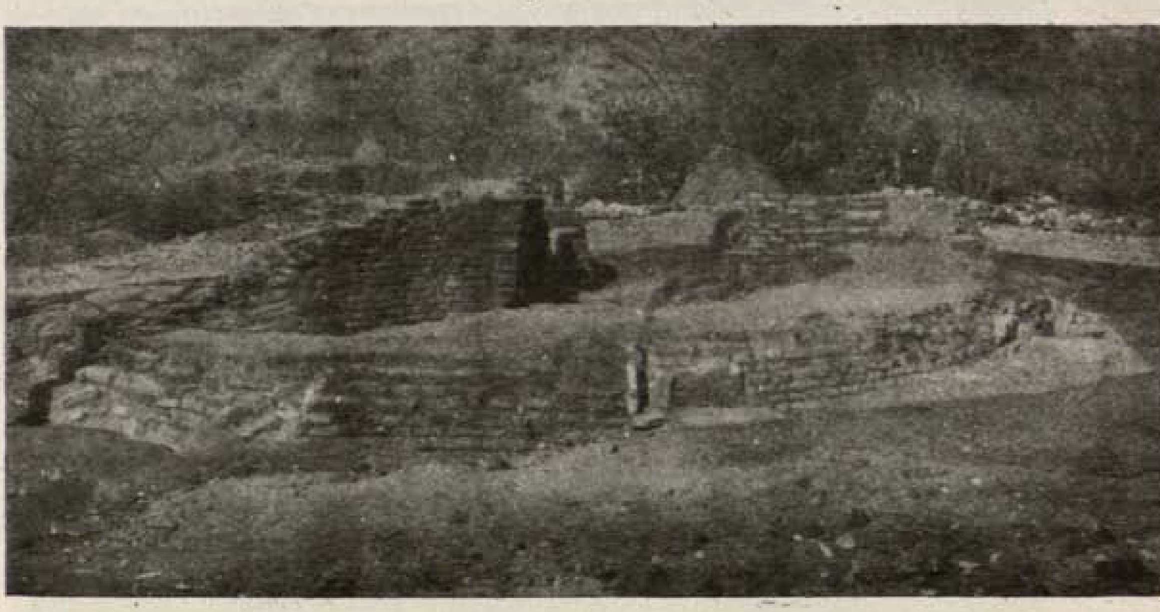
A. UNIDENTIFIED CARVED SLAB FROM STŪPA, SITE 5



B. CASING SLAB FROM STŪPA, SITE 5 WITH SCENES FROM THE BUDDHA'S LIFE



A. Guard room or Strong room (?), Site 6



B. Stūpa, Site 5

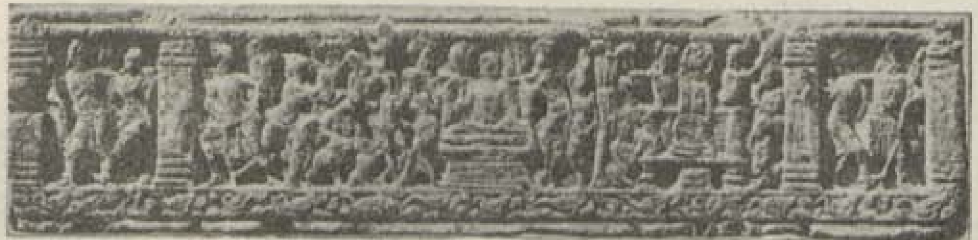


A. TERRACOTTA JAR FROM ENCLOSURE TO NORTH OF SITE 6



B. COCOANUT-SHAPED POT FROM EASTERN WING OF MONASTERY, SITE 2

PLATE XXXIII



B BUDDHA'S VICTORY OVER THE FORCES OF MĀRA



A. CHAITYA SLAB



C. A CHAKRAVARTIN



D. VESSANTARA JĀTAKA

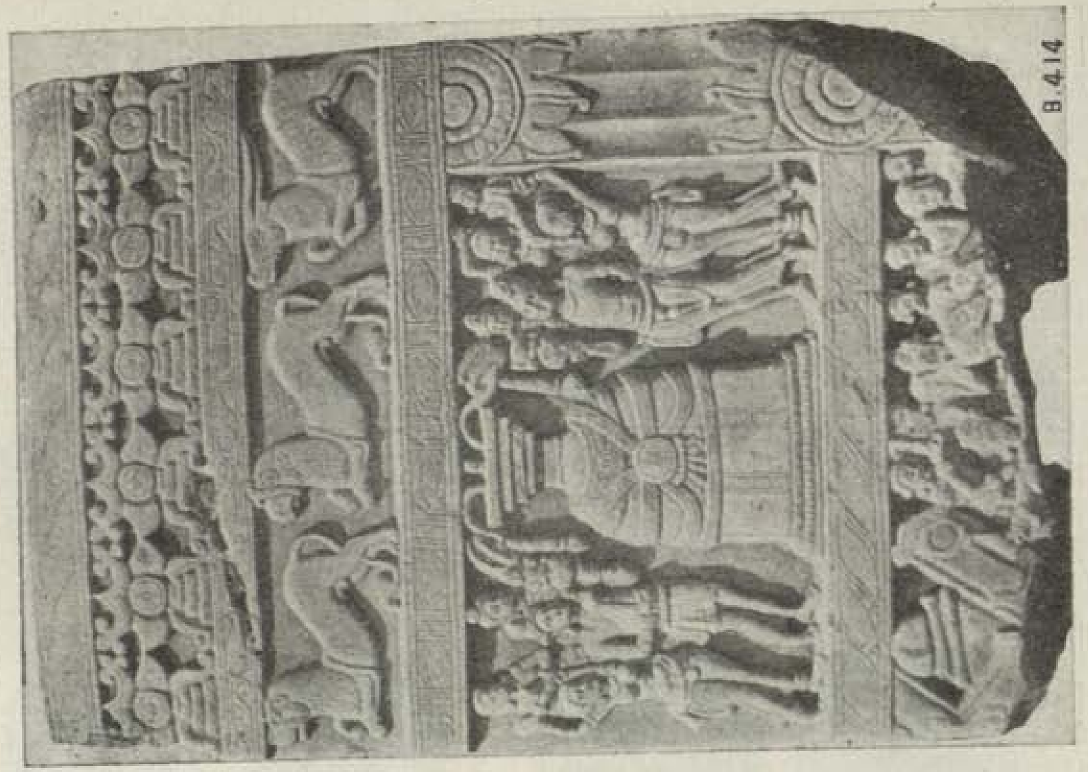
CARVINGS FROM SITE 5



1. SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION ON AN ĀYAKA-PILLAR FRAGMENT, FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

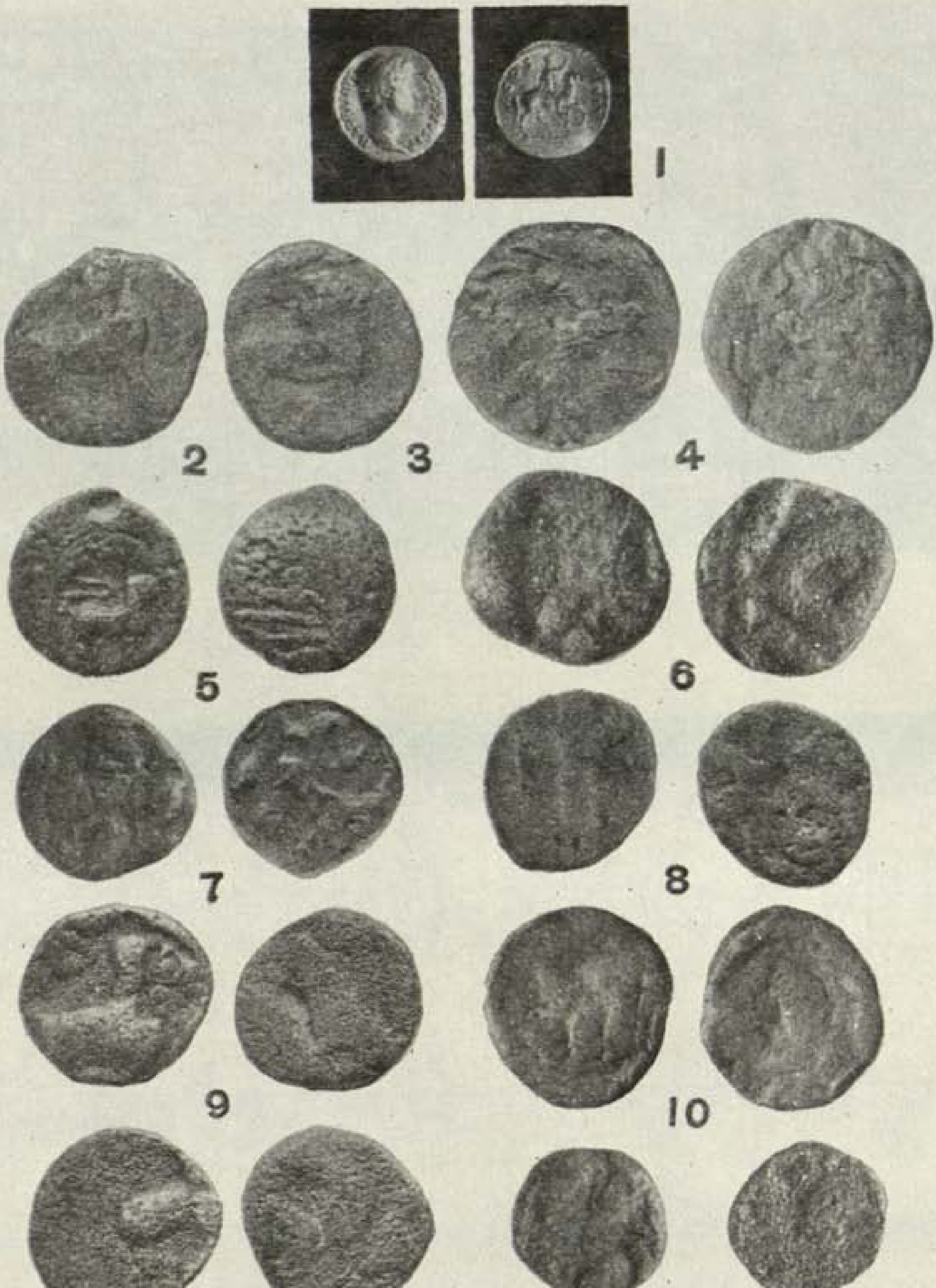


2. SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION BELOW FIGURE OF BUDDHA, FROM STŪPA AT GUMMIḌIDURRU, KṚISHṆĀ DISTRICT, FIFTH CENTURY A.D.






TWO CHAITYA SLABS SHOWING THE CEREMONIAL USE OF PŪRṆAGHAṬA, NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA




1. GOLD COIN (ACTUAL SIZE) OF ROMAN HADRIAN
2—12. LEAD COINS (ENLARGED) OF ĀNDHRA KINGS



A. MĀNDHĀTU JĀTAKA



B. MĀNDHĀTU JĀTAKA



MĀNDHĀTU JĀTAKA